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HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE
IN INDIA & THE EAST

078099

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या R 934
पुस्तक संख्या L84H V.1
आगत पंजिका संख्या ~~48535~~
पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है । कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें ।

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STOCK VERIFICATION
स्टाक प्रमाणीकरण ११ ८४-१२

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK

STOCK VERIFICATION

Margaret

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यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

GURUKULA VISHWA VIDYALAYA
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गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय
डाकघर- गुरुकुल कांगड़ी
जिला- बिजनौर
रेलघर हरिद्वार
P.O. GURUKULA KANGRI, DIST. BIJNOR

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CHECKED 1973
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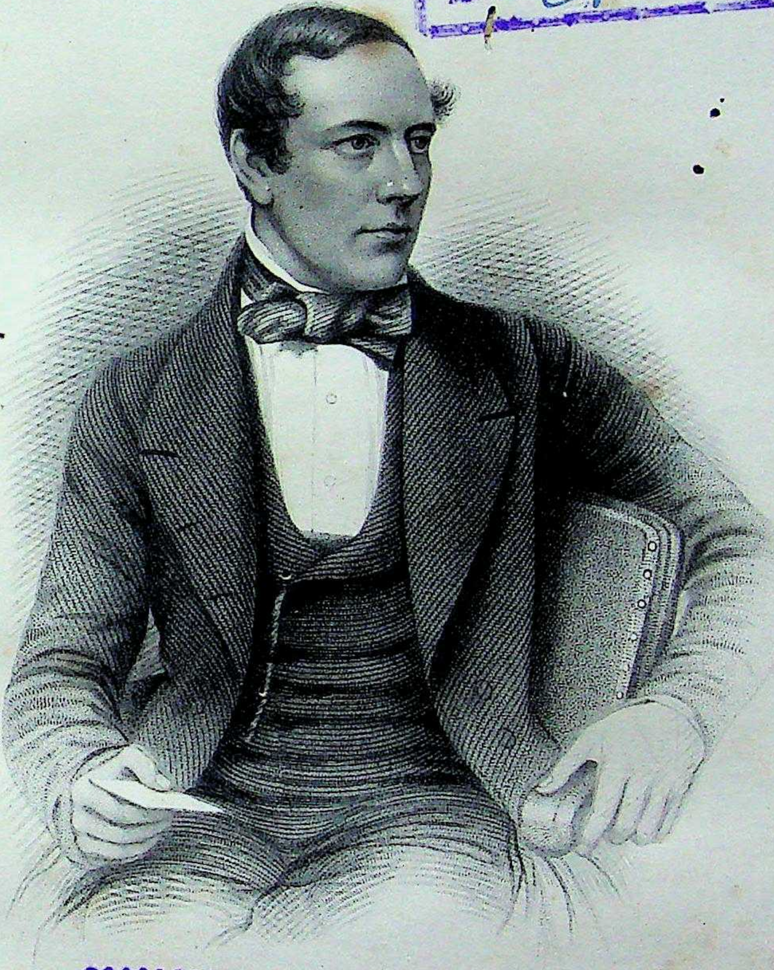

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

GENERAL NICHOLSON.

From a Daguerreotype by Kilburn.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK

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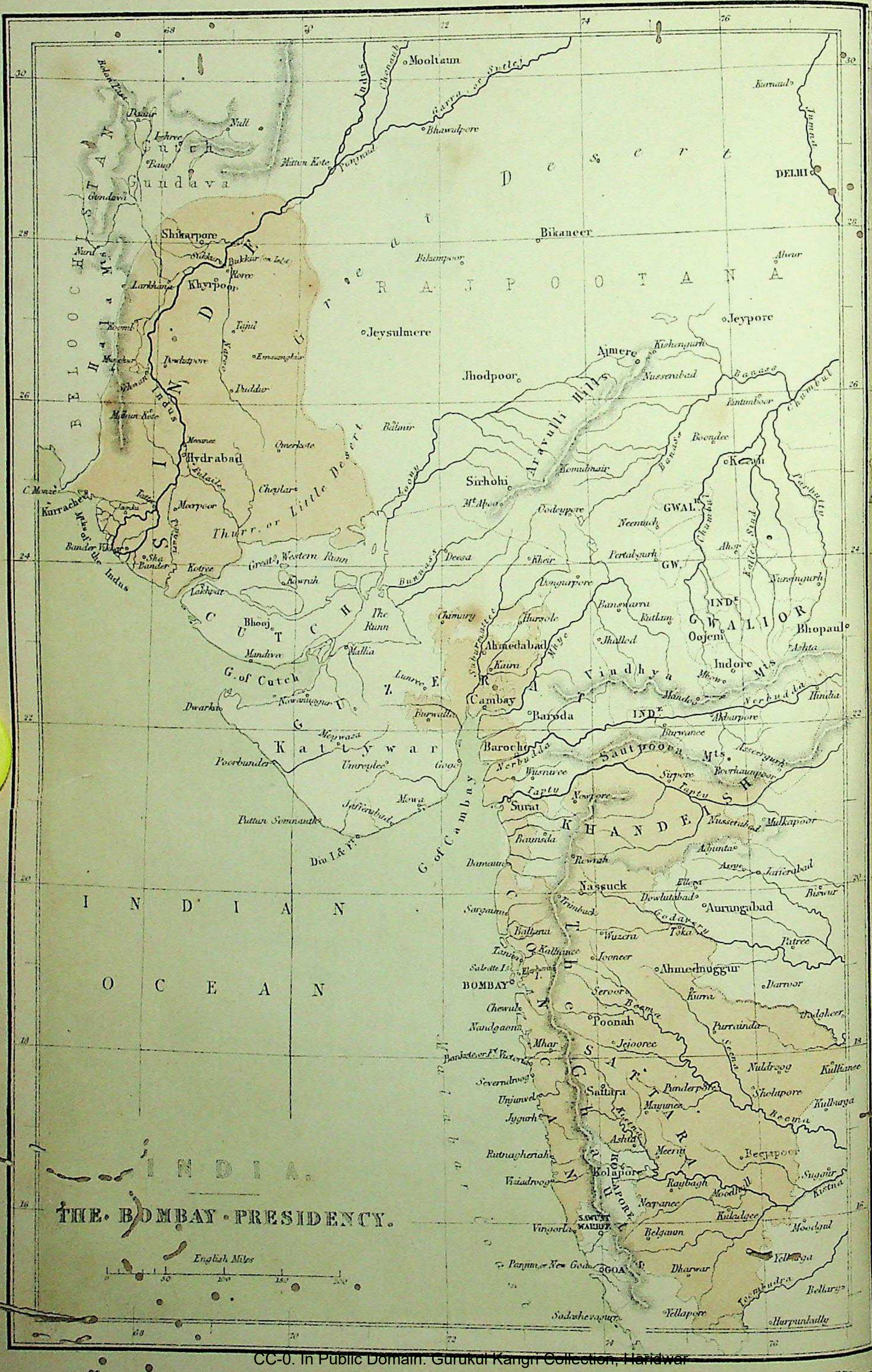
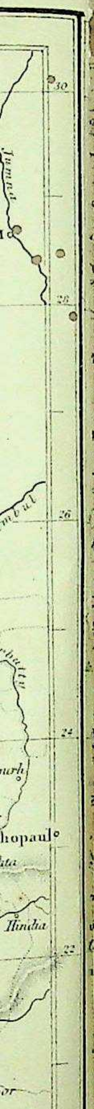
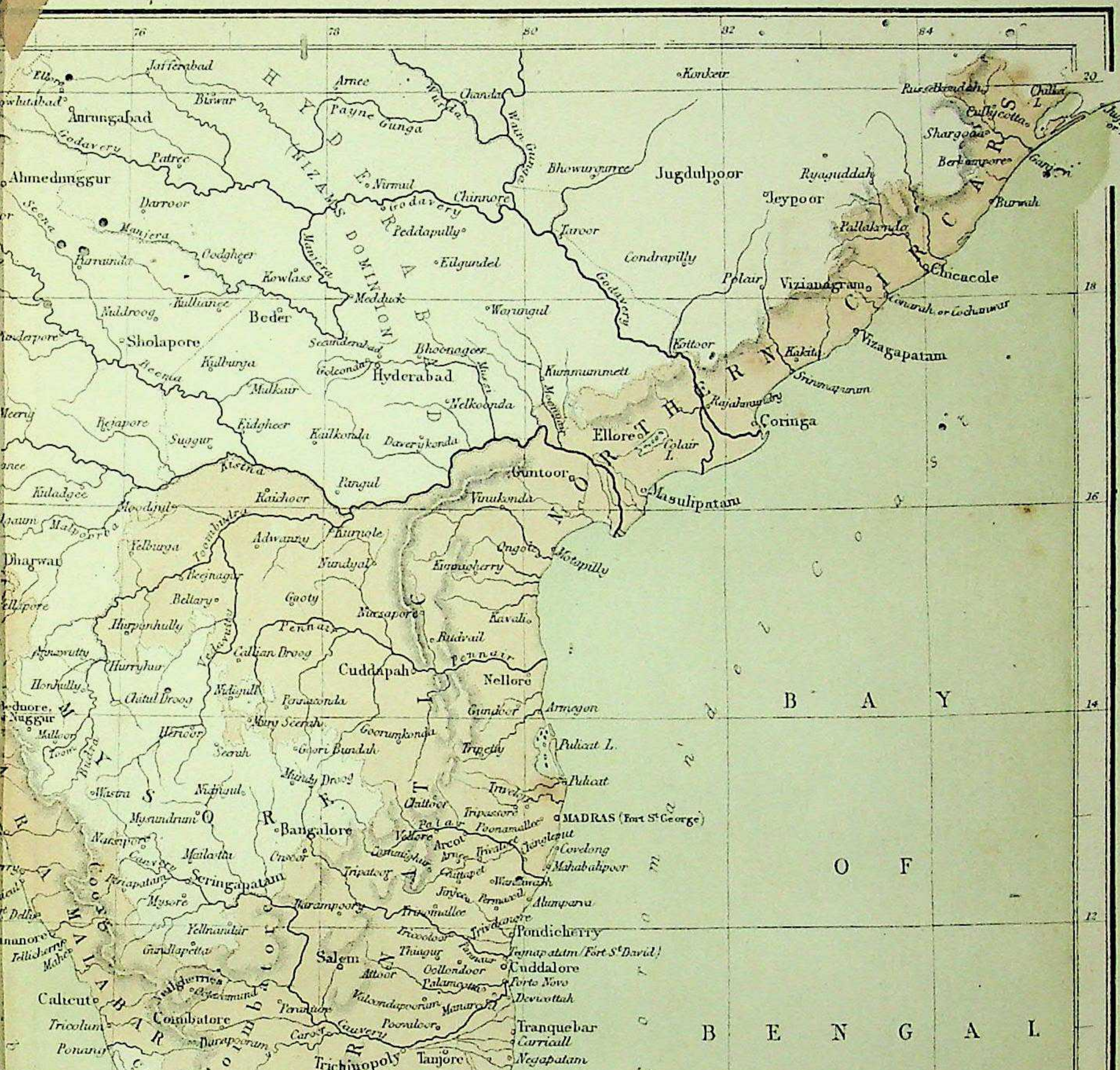

INDIA.
THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.
English Miles
50
100
150
200
INDIAN OCEAN
Great Desert
RAJPOOTANA
BELOOCHISTAN
Cutch Gundava
SINDH
Thurr, or Little Desert
CUTCH
GUZERAT
Kattywar
G. of Cutch
G. of Cambay
KHANDEISH
SATTARA
CONCAN
GWALIOR
Vindhya Mts.
Sautpoora Mts.
Aravulli Hills
Mooltaun
Indus
Chenaub
Garra or Sutlej
Punjnud
Bhawulpore
Mittun Kote
DELHI
Kurnaul
Jumna
Bikaneer
Bikampoor
Alwur
Jeypore
Jeysulmere
Ajmere
Kishengurh
Nusseerabad
Jhodpoor
Shikarpore
Sukkur
Bukkur
Roree
Khyrpoor
Larkhana
Dadur
Gundava
Bolan Pass
Hydrabad
Kurrachee
C. Monze
Tatta
Meerpoor
Omerkote
Balmir
Lukput
Bhooj
Mandivee
Mallia
Dwarka
Poorbunder
Nowanuggur
Umreylee
Goga
Mowa
Jafferabad
Puttun Somnauth
Diu I. & Ft.
Deesa
Ahmedabad
Kaira
Cambay
Baroda
Baroche
Nerbudda
Tapty
Surat
Baunsda
Damaun
Sirhohi
Mt. Aboo
Oodeypore
Neemuch
Pertabgurh
Banswara
Rutlam
Jhallod
Dongurpore
Kotah
Boondee
Chumbul
Banass
Oojein
Indore
Mhow
Mandoo
Bhopaul
Ashta
Hindia
Akbarpore
Burwanee
Asseergurh
Boorhaunpoor
Sirpore
Nowpore
Nussirabad
Mulkapoor
Ajunta
Jafferabad
Ellora
Dowlutabad
Aurungabad
Godavery
Nassuck
Trimbuck
Sargaum
Bassein
Tanna
Salsette I.
BOMBAY
Kalliance
Jooneer
Ahmednuggur
Seroor
Poonah
Jejooree
Beema
Chewul
Nandgaon
Mhar
Bankote or Ft. Victoria
Severndroog
Unjunvel
Jyghur
Sattara
Punderpoor
Sholapore
Nuldroog
Kullianee
Kulburga
Kistna
Beejapoor
Meeritch
Kolapore
Ratnagheriah
Viziadroog
Raybagh
Moodhol
Nepanee
Kuladgee
Belgaum
Vingorla
SAWUNT WAREE
Panjim or New Goa
GOA
Dharwar
Yellapore
Sadasheraguur
Moodgul
Yellburga
Bellary
Toombudra
Hurpunhully




INDIA.
E MADRAS PRESIDENCY,
WITH CEYLON.
English Miles
0 50 100 150 200
76 78 80 82 84
20 18 16 14 12 10 8 6
Longitude East 80 of Greenwich
HYDERABAD
NIZAM'S DOMINION
NORTHERN CIRCARS
CARNATIC
MYSORE
MALABAR
COIMBATORE
COCHIN
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON
BAY OF BENGAL
Coromandel Coast
G. of Manaar
Palks Str
Adams Br.
Aurungabad
Ahmednuggur
Jafferabad
Ellora
Biswar
Arnee
Chanda
Payne Gunga
Godavery
Patree
Nirmul
Chinnore
Darroor
Manjera
Peddapully
Eilgundel
Codgheer
Kowlass
Medduck
Warungul
Kulliance
Beder
Nuldroog
Sholapore
Secunderabad
Bhoonageer
Golconda
Hyderabad
Kulburga
Mulkair
Nelkoonda
Bejapore
Eidgheer
Kailkonda
Daverykonda
Suggur
Kistna
Pangul
Raichoor
Kuladgee
Moodgul
Dharwar
Kurnole
Adwanny
Nundyal
Bellary
Beejnagur
Yelburga
Gooty
Hurpunhully
Cuddapah
Callian Droog
Hurryhur
Chitul Droog
Nellore
Pennair
Pennaconda
Gundoor
Armegon
Pulicat L.
Pulicat
Goorumkonda
Tripetty
Nuggur
Seerah
Goori Bundah
Chittoor
Tripasore
MADRAS (Fort St. George)
Poonamallee
Arcot
Vellore
Bangalore
Covelong
Mahabalipoor
Seringapatam
Mysore
Wandiwash
Permacoil
Alumparva
Pondicherry
Tegnapatam (Fort St. David)
Cuddalore
Porto Novo
Devicottah
Salem
Attoor
Tranquebar
Carricall
Negapatam
Tanjore
Trichinopoly
Calicut
Tricolum
Ponany
Coimbatore
Darapooram
Caroor
Cauvery
Cranganore
Dindigul
Poodoocotta
Pulney
Pt. Calimere
Madura
Cochin
Shevagunga
Ramnad
Kayencolum
Sherkptore
Covilputty
Quilon
Tinnevelly
Pallamcottah
Trivandrum
C. Comorin
Jaffna
Pt. Palmyra
Manotte
Trincomalee
Anarajapoora
Calpentyn
Nallande
Batticaloa
Chilaw
Negombo
Kandy
Bintenne
Colombo
Adams Pk.
Newera Ellia
Caltura
Point de Galle
Matura
Dondra Hd.
Hettregam
Kunkeir
Russelkondah
Chilka L.
Juggernaut or Pooree
Gullycotta
Shargoda
Berhampore
Ganjam
Burwah
Ryaguddah
Jugdulpoor
Jeypoor
Bhowurguree
Pallakonda
Chicacole
Condrapilly
Palair
Vizianagram
Kottoor
Kakita
Vizagapatam
Kummummett
Rajahmundry
Coringa
Colair L.
Ellore
Guntoor
Masulipatam
Vinukonda
Ongol
Motapilly
Kavali
Rudrail
Pennair

Drawn & Engraved by W. Hughes

VIRTUE

ceived at his court, was that of an accomplished man and perfect English gentleman."*

To the west of the river Rapty there is an extensive region called the Twenty-two Rajahs. There is nothing in their climate, conformation, productions, or people, requiring separate notice.

SIKKIM is a protected territory situated between Nepaul and Bhotan. It has been an independent state from time immemorial, but its limits have undergone many mutations. According to native authorities, its most ancient boundaries northward were a range of highlands, which separated it from the Chinese dominions in Thibet. These hills were called *Khawa Karpola*, or "the mountains white with snow." To the west, the Conki formed the limit until it reached the plain, where the country now "one of the Twenty-two Rajahs," the Morung (or Vijayapore Rajah) was included in ancient Sikkim. Its eastern boundary is Bhotan. Its present limits are compact and well defined, clearly distinguishing it from the dominions of Nepaul and Bhotan, and effectually separating those states from one another. This settlement was effected by the British government after the great Nepaulese war, and the policy was judicious, for the warlike Goorkhas having gained ascendancy, would soon have pushed their conquests through Bhotan and Assam, possibly through Birmah, or, forming a junction with that power, overawed the British frontier. By the settlement of Sikkim under the rajah, he being under British protection, the Goorkhas are shut up within bounds, so far as any progress eastward is concerned. The East India Company would have probably retained the territory, but the people live in a country of difficult access from the adjoining British province, and it would require a long time to tame them down to the observance of law and order, such as is necessary in a British province. The rajah, towards whom they turn with national loyalty, is more likely to preserve order under the stipulations of the protective treaty.

The country resembles that of Nepaul, to which it is contiguous; the climate is also similar, although perhaps hotter, and less healthy. It contains much fine scenery, and many most salubrious situations. About half the population profess the religion of the Thibetian Lamas, a species of Buddhism, the deity being incarnate in the successive Lamas. The Lamas hold the supreme spiritual power in Thibet, and over the Buddhists of neighbouring countries who submit to their rule: the temporal authority in the Thibetian territory is wielded by the Chinese emperor. The moiety of the Sikkimites who acknowledge the grand Lamas are enervated by their debasing superstitions; the others consist of numerous tribes—brave, hardy, rude, aboriginal races. These men eat kine or pork, or anything else which is detested either by Buddhists or Brahmins, and they will drink alcohol eagerly: it is alleged, too, that some of them drink with passionate gusto the blood of animals slain for their sacrifices. Sikkim was long a battle-field for ascendancy by its own people, and those of surrounding countries, the chief aggressors being the restless little Goorkhas, whose perseverance against all odds and obstacles was usually rewarded by victory. The rajah has been constant to his fealty, and the British government to its protection, and both have been benefited. The Chinese regard the increasing influence of the East India Company along the frontier of Thibet with great uneasiness, and they have used every furtive means to which they could resort to detach the Goorkha and Sikkim rajahs from their alliance, but in vain. Menaces also have been tried for this purpose, but without accomplishing it, although not without inspiring with the most abject terror his Sikkim majesty, and causing serious misgiving as to the result among the Goorkhas, notwithstanding all their bravery: such is the prestige of the "brother of the sun," and monarch of "the celestial empire," along the frontier states, which are also the boundary states of our Indian empire.

BHOTAN is an extensive region lying eastward of Sikkim, and separated from it by the eastern branch of the Teesta River. Its eastern limit is the apex of an angle, where the British province of Assam and the Chinese region of Thibet meet with it. The last-named country ranges along its northern line, upon the crests of the Himalayas, and to the south it has Berar and Assam. The Hindoos apply the term Bhote to both sides of the Himalayas, extending from Cashmere to China, a vast area of country, but the name Bhotan is applied by Europeans only to the country above defined. The Bhotans constitute a tribe which is very extended over the whole Himalaya range, and the territory now noticed may be considered as their chief locality. The lower portions, adjoining the Bengal frontier, are choked with vegetation, marshy land, and constantly-decomposing matter, rendering the whole plain pestiferous. The northern portions are mountainous, in some places wild and rocky, but in most the mountains are green to their peaks, and towers and hamlets exist on the slopes in the midst of blooming gardens and orchards. Forests of excellent timber shelter elephants and other fine animals, as well as birds of various plumage. Like Nepaul, the land has many climates—one might almost say every climate, from the sternest winter to the fervour of the tropics. Apples, pears, peaches, apricots, strawberries, raspberries, and blackberries, are indigenous. The vegetables of England are excellent: the turnip, it is said, being the finest in the world. Tea is as common in Bhotan as in China, but it is boiled with flour, salt, and other ingredients. The horses are particularly fine and spirited. Monkeys being sacred, as among the Hindoos, they are unmolested by the people, and scream and chatter in every direction; they are much finer, and in greater variety, than in any other part of India, continental or insular.

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* Letter of a lady, a fugitive from the upper provinces of Bengal, during the mutiny.

From the hills of Bhotan caravans descend to Rungpore, conveying tea and cows' tails from Thibet, Chinese silks, tea, paper, and limes, and their own products—such as beeswax, walnuts, oranges, ivory, musk, gold-dust, and silver (in ingots). The Deb Rajah, as the monarch is called, is himself the merchant, and imports to his dominions indigo from the plains, cloves, nutmegs, incense, sandal-wood, red sandal-wood, hides, cloth, coral, and English manufactures of various kinds. The total value of this commerce is not great.

The people are of two very different races, the majority being feeble and emasculated, their whole minds engrossed in superstition; the other a bold athletic race, with Chinese features, but better limbed than that race. They are all much subject to glandular swellings in the neck, and nearly destitute of hair about the face, having scarcely any eyelash or eyebrow, no beard, and seldom any whiskers. Like the Sikkim people, they were long accustomed to fight with the bow and poisoned arrow, nor are these weapons even yet abandoned, although in Nepaul good European arms are alone employed for military purposes. The women are obliged to work in the fields, and are treated harshly. In religion the Bhotans are Buddhists, and reject caste totally.

The policy of the court is encroaching and artful, and the British territory has been much intruded upon. It has always been difficult to induce the native sovereigns to remain faithful to treaties in this respect, even when their fidelity as allies in war has been unquestionable. They prefer an undefined or irregularly-marked boundary, the passion for disputes about land being prevalent all over India, and apparently inseparable from the existence of native landholders and sovereigns. The Deb Rajah is the temporal sovereign of the country, which he but partially rules; there is also a spiritual rajah, and often civil war alone decides their respective privileges, and relative authority. Of the Chinese emperor both the temporal and spiritual rajah stand in great awe.

The towns in this vast region are unimportant, and the capital is not much superior to the others.

There are numerous small states adjacent to Assam, which are more or less subject to, or under the protection of, the British, which only merit a passing notice. The possessions of the Begum Rajah, situated on both sides of the Brahmapootra, are among these. The boundaries are ill defined, the people wild, and the land wretchedly cultivated. Some of these estates are beautiful, and the land naturally fertile, especially in the lower districts, which are subject to inundations. Excellent rice is produced in large quantities. It is also prolific in mustard-seed, sugar-cane, and tobacco. The British have assumed a nominal sovereignty over the greater part of this territory.

The Dophlas, the Garrows, and other independent or quasi-independent tribes, inhabit neighbouring districts; they seem to be aboriginal races, and are fierce and predatory in character.

In the border territories of India, from the northern limits of Beloochistan to the point where Assam touches the confines of Bhotan, Birmah, and Thibet, the climate is superior to the lower provinces; but the opposition to the administration of government and the collecting of revenue is very great, arising from the wild, bold character of the people of these border realms, the insatiable desire of territory which animates their chiefs, and the perpetual encroachments upon the territory of the company made by petty zemindars, individual intruders, or superior chiefs. The general impression in England is, that the company maintains a system of encroachment upon contiguous territory, whereas they perpetually stand on the defensive against the oriental spirit of aggrandisement, which is often adventured even where defeat and penalty are almost sure to follow.

The relations of the Indian government to the native states have, of late years, improved. Generally it was difficult to secure the execution of any treaties, so little were the rulers of these states bound by ideas of international law. Treaties were usually regarded simply as media of escaping preceding difficulties and perils, and no longer to be kept than convenience dictated. Of late the imperative obligation of treaties has been more generally, and at the same time more freely, recognised by the rulers of the various countries within the peninsula, and on its borders, which possess an independent status. The agents of the Honourable East India Company at the courts of these sovereigns have been, for the most part, competent men, selected for their ability and trustworthiness, and they have used their moral influence and intellectual resources to improve the administration of these states. Most of these petty kingdoms, when forming alliance with the government of Calcutta, were in a condition of anarchy, or crushed by the tyranny of their princes, or courtiers administering government in their name. "Those among the Mahratta states which had any considerable military strength made annual expeditions, called *mooluckgheery* circuits, for the purpose of conquering or devastating the possessions of their weaker neighbours; and hordes of undisciplined adventurers, known by the name of Pindarries, ranged with fire and sword from one end to the other of the part of India which was under native rule, occasionally invading and ravaging even the British possessions. All this is at an end. The native states are as safe from one another, and from invaders and plunderers from without, as the British dominions. The princes and chiefs are bound by treaties to refer to our arbitration all their differences; and experience has given them the fullest reliance on our impartiality and justice. Boundary disputes between villages of different states, and complaints from the subjects of one against another, are adjudicated either by a British officer, or by courts of *vakeels*, composed of representatives of the neighbouring chiefs, presided over by a British functionary." *

In Gujerat (or Guzerat), where a considerable number of petty chiefs hold the reins of power, too weak to control their people, and too ignorant and uncivilised to enter into suitable arrangements with one another, criminal courts have been instituted, consisting of a British diplomatic officer, and assessors selected from the representatives of the different chiefs. By these means turbulence has been repressed, and petty raids for robbery and revenge have been promptly punished. One peculiarity of these tribunals has been, that they have nearly suppressed all the crimes which arose out of a generally disturbed state of society; and in dealing with offences which originated in real or supposed grievances, they make due allowance for provocation, and redress the wrongs even of those whom they are bound to punish for seeking justice by unlawful means.

The barbarous practices which have been to a great degree, or altogether, suppressed in our own territories, such as infanticide, Thuggee, Suttee, Dacoitee, &c., have, through the influence of the British residents at the various courts, been either mitigated, restrained, or altogether abolished.

No European could conceive the barbarous state of financial management in all the native states. The princes grew rich by the impoverishment of the people; their persons, palaces, idols, temples, thrones, sceptres, arms, and other instruments of war or state, glittered with precious stones and the precious metals; while the people were ground down to the dust beneath extortion and oppression. The fiscal systems of these states have been modified or regenerated by the influence and talent of the British residents. At the same time, the personal extravagance of the princes has become, through the same influences, comparatively unfashionable. Formerly, the elephant of a Hindoo rajah was richly caparisoned, the trappings being decorated with gold and jewels: this is not now common, and is rather to be met with among the chiefs of the smaller and less potent states, where love of barbaric display has not been subdued by the chastening effects of civilization.

One of the most fertile sources of revolution and sanguinary anarchy in the native states, as well as of difference between them and the company, was the condition in which succession to the throne was frequently left by the decease of the monarch. It can hardly fail to have struck persons, even only superficially acquainted with Indian affairs, how frequently the rightful sovereign has been left in a minority, and how seldom that has been the case without intrigue having been set on foot to displace the minor by some bold and unprincipled chief or kinsman. This source of disorder has been lessened by the care and precaution of the company. The British residents have generally superintended the education of the minor, and trained him in habits of good government; while their influence has been exercised upon the states to appoint capable ministers, to reform abuses, and restore the country in an improved condition to the young chiefs, who, having been in the meantime for the most part educated in European knowledge, and initiated into public business under the eye of a British officer, are often grateful for the care taken of their interest, and continue, after the accession to power, the improved systems commenced during their minority. The present Scindiah and Holkar, and the Rao of Cutch, as well as many others, may be cited as instances. One native ruler, the late

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* Memorandum of Indian Improvements, by the Court of Directors.

Nawab of Rampore, had actually been a deputy-collector in the service of the British government. Another, the Rao of Ulwur, on his accession, invited some of our native functionaries to conduct his administration, and reform it after the English model. The Rajpoot states, formerly almost in a condition of chronic anarchy, have been rendered peaceful and prosperous, by judicious mediation between the princes and their feudatories, and judicious guidance of both, through advice and influence.*

Writers who treat of the independent territories of India usually overlook the tribes which own no master, and live in savage wildness in the fastnesses of the ghauts or the Himalayas. Sometimes these are called British subjects, at other times they are regarded as the subjects of some of the rajahs within the alleged boundaries of whose territories the jungles, marshes, or rocky elevations where they make their retreat are nominally represented to be.

"There are numerous hill tribes in various parts of India, known under the names of Bheels, Coolies, Goands, Mhairs, Meenas, Mhangs, Ramoosees, and others, who are believed to have been the aboriginal population of the country, driven from the plains by the invasion of the Hindoos. These people had been treated like wild beasts by the native governments, and, by a natural consequence, had become the scourge of the country. Whenever the government was weak, they destroyed all security in the neighbouring plains by their depredations, and had universally acquired the character of irreclaimable robbers.

"The first person who is known to have tried the effect of justice and conciliation on any of these tribes was Mr. Cleveland, an officer high in the civil service of the company in the latter part of the last century. The scene of his benevolent exertions was the Bhaugulpore Hills, in the north-east of Bengal; and the feelings which he left behind among the rude people of the district were such, that they long continued to pay religious honours to his tomb. The example thus set has been largely followed in the present generation. One of the first signal instances of success was in the case of the Mhairs, who inhabit a hill district near Ajmeer. Colonel Hall, now on the company's retired list, originated the movement, and it was worthily carried on by Colonel Dixon, recently deceased. In Western India the honour of the initiative belongs to Mr. J. P. Willoughby, then a very young officer, who by similar means established peace and order among the Bheels of Rajpeepla, a wild district of Gujerat. The next instance was that of the Bheels of the Adjuntee range, in Southern Candeish, through the agency chiefly of Colonel Ovans, and of the present Sir James Outram; and the measures which proved successful with these Bheels were successively extended to many similar tribes in different parts of Central India. Another example is that of the Khoonds, in Orissa, among whom a policy of the same general character was carried into practice by Major Macpherson. This tribe has been induced to abolish human sacrifices.

"The mode in which these objects were accomplished was in all cases fundamentally the same. They were effected by the admirable power of individual character. Into fastnesses, through which bodies even of disciplined troops had vainly endeavoured to force their way, these officers penetrated, in some cases almost unattended. They trusted themselves to the people. By their courage and frankness they gained their confidence. They made them understand that they were not considered as wild animals to be hunted down; that nothing but their good was intended; and the object which had for years been vainly sought by force was accomplished by explanation and persuasion. The robber tribes were induced to settle as peaceful cultivators. Lands were assigned to them, tools supplied, and money advanced, for cultivation. In Mhairwarra the government also constructed important works of irrigation. The more daring spirits were formed into irregular corps, under British officers, and employed to preserve the peace of the districts of which they had once been the principal disturbers. In no single instance has this policy failed. The agricultural colonies composed of these people have all prospered, and the districts which they formerly devastated have become, and remained, among the most free from crime to be found in India. In the late disturbances not one of the corps composed of these people is known to have mutinied. The Mhairwarra battalion has not only remained faithful, but is, in the present crisis, a valuable part of our local military strength, and there has been no disturbance whatever in that district. Among the Bheels of Candeish there has been a rising, which, by showing that the predatory spirit is not yet thoroughly extinct, enhances the merit of the system of measures by which, for nearly a quarter of a century, it has been kept dormant. But the corps formed from among these very people by Sir James Outram has done useful service to government in the present emergency.

"The last great example of the success of this policy was given by Colonel John Jacob in Scinde, and only differs from the others because the tribes with whom he had to do were not oppressed aborigines, but the proud and warlike mountaineers of the Affghan and Beloochee frontier. The success has been among the most striking yet experienced. For some time after the conquest of Scinde the frontier forays of these tribes kept the country in a perpetual state of disturbance. The attempts to retaliate on them in their hills had been failures, sometimes almost disasters, but had laid the foundation of that knowledge of our power which enabled subsequent conciliatory measures to have their full effect. Colonel Jacob applied to these people the principles of Mhairwarra and Candeish. He settled on land those who were willing to cultivate, and organised from among the remainder a local military police. The effect is, that in the frontier districts, what was lately a desert, is now in great part a thriving agricultural country, yielding a rapidly increasing revenue. For some years there has been scarcely a crime of magnitude on the entire Scinde frontier; and the corps which was raised partly from the former devastators of the country is the celebrated Jacob's Horse." *

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* Statement of the East India Company.

Those who are desirous to give the government credit for the wise and bold conduct of its officers, may be surprised by learning that General Jacob professes to have hewed out a path for himself, without any instruction from the Indian authorities, when he adopted the eminently successful course commended in the company's memorial. Whatever may be thought of such pretensions, there can be no doubt that the general was enabled to effect his purposes chiefly by the impartial and daring spirit of justice with which he set at defiance all fanatical demonstrations and claims for sectarian license. There is an illustration of this in the following regimental orders issued by him, when Major Jacob, at Jacobabad, on the 5th of October, 1854:—

> The camp at Jacobabad has been for the last week the scene of wild disorder, such as is in the highest degree disgraceful to good soldiers. A shameful uproar has been going on day and night, under pretence of religious ceremonies. The commanding officer has nothing to do with religious ceremonies. All men may worship God as they please, and believe as they choose in matters of religion, but no men have a right to annoy their neighbours or to neglect their duty on pretence of serving God.
>
> The officers and men of the Scinde Irregular Horse have the name of, and are supposed to be, excellent soldiers, and not mad fakeers. They are placed at the most advanced and most honourable post in all the Bombay presidency; the commanding officer believes that they are in every way worthy of this honour, and he would be sorry if under his command they ever became unworthy of their high position.
>
> The commanding officer feels it to be the greatest honour to command such soldiers, but that it would be a disgrace to be at the head of a body of mad and disorderly fakeers and drummers. He therefore now informs the Scinde Irregular Horse that in future no noisy processions nor any disorderly displays whatever, under pretence of religion or of anything else, shall ever be allowed in, or in the neighbourhood of, and camps of the Scinde Irregular Horse.
>
> This order is to be read on the first of every month until further orders, and is to be hung up in the bazaar in the town of Jacobabad and at the Cutcherry.
>
> By order,
> W. L. Briggs,
> *Lieutenant, Adjutant, 2nd regiment S. I. H.*

The editor of an Indian journal, remarking upon this document, observes:—"When this order was issued there were, we are told, some ten thousand bigoted Mussulmen in the camp and town of Jacobabad, and the number, it is believed, has since increased. Nevertheless, the prohibition has been most strictly enforced, and, with our faith in the reason of men in the mass when reasonably appealed to, we are not surprised to learn that its enforcement has been submitted to without a murmur. Public opinion was with Major Jacob in this instance, as it will always be with those who lay down sound principles, and act upon them consistently and impartially." *

What Major Jacob effected by the force of his character, his practical common sense in worldly matters, and his military judgment and genius, he himself is eager to attribute to his correct views in reference to the applicability of Christianity to the reformation of wild tribes; and the general has written a very silly book to show this, entitled the *Progress of Being in the Universe.* The book and the title do not harmonise; the writer seems to think that he has new and original ideas of great value on ethics and the moral nature of man. Some of these views are simply nonsense, others exploded fallacies, as the merest tyro in moral philosophy and theology must know; and the only good notions which the general propounds as the result of his own great thinking power, or of that of other men who have been neglected, but the value of whose opinions he had the sagacity to discover, are principles which they or he somehow derived from revelation. "I arrive at the conclusion," says the sapient general, "that the Christianity of the modern churches is only slightly altered from paganism!" How paganism contained Christianity the general does not say; nor does he show in what particulars "the modern churches" altered so slightly the old Christianity of paganism; nor does he tell us how it is, or wherein the *modern* churches are so especially liable to the imputation; the only thing plain is that Jacob of the Scinde Horse, whatever his courage, practical aptitudes, or military capacity, is very ignorant of Christianity, is not at all conversant with logic, or with ethical and theological questions on which he is so dogmatical, and that he possesses a ready capacity for writing nonsense, which he persuades himself is philosophy. When his productions are sufficiently clear to be understood, it is obvious that with a pen in his hand he is as absurd, incompetent, and impracticable, as with his sword he is efficient, and in his own natural character frank, just, and honest. It is difficult to say what particular duties in connection with religion and religious education the government of India may devolve upon General Jacob in addition to border pacification and the drilling of the Scinde irregular cavalry, but it is easy for the Christian and Protestant public of England to judge of his fitness for such a trust by the following outburst of infidelity, which the writer evidently believed to be very eloquent and very learned, as to the philosophy and failure of the Reformation:—

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* Memorial of the Honourable East India Company.

* *Bombay Gazette.*

"The Protestants, however, knew and know nothing of *esoteric* religion; in fact, they knew not in reality what they assailed or protested against. They fought against outward forms and shadows only; they held by the *letter* of the book as then received; and, being therefore without that power of adjustment which the Church of Rome still retains, they are now unable to accommodate their doctrines to the advancing common sense and reason of mankind, and still less to improving *moral* powers. The growing intelligence of even the vulgar crowd must therefore, ere long, refuse to accept these doctrines as divine. Before a really divine revelation—before that glorious light of truth which the unfolding of natural law throughout the whole and every particle of the universe is gradually bringing on man's mind—the mysteries of the churches appear foolish as nursery tales; while the intelligent being who is conscious of his ascent towards the highest, who *feels* the calm but unspeakable joy of real *moral growth*, must spurn with contempt that moral code which pretends to influence him by *hopes* and *fears*. He *is* and is eternally—he cares not for having." *

According to the general, there is no really divine revelation, but "the unfolding of natural law throughout the whole and every particle of the universe;" and it is from that revelation, and what he ludicrously calls "moral growth," that he gathers his views of the errors of the Christian religions. On the whole, the general may, when too old for the army, make an excellent Buddhist priest; and the sooner when that time arrives the company pensions him off, and sends him to Kandy, or makes a present of him to "the white elephant," the better for Scinde, for the character of the company which now employs him as *a civil agent*, and for the young officers who, imperfectly read in religion, are brought under the pernicious influence of his pamphlets and his opinions. The company has, so far, formed a more correct estimate of the causes of General Jacob's success in quieting the Affghan and Beloochee frontiers, than the general himself has done. What he attributes to his philosophy, they attribute to his dutiful execution of their policy: "he settled on land those who were willing to cultivate, and organized from among the remainder a local military police." Instead of originating something wonderful, for which he was indebted to his philosophical materialism, he has only performed what he was bid, and, as the company declares, "applied to these people the principles of Mhairwarra and Candeish." Yet notwithstanding this public testimony, the general pretends that all the good effects referred to arose from his urging upon the mountain men the principle of "moral growth." Topsy, in the memorable novel of Mrs. Stowe, seems to have been of the same philosophical school as the general—she "growed." It is of importance thus to notice the political and ethical quackery of General Jacob, because in India so much depends upon the personal opinions and conduct of the administrators of the company's government, especially in those territories most imperfectly subjected to British law. The gross inconsistencies of the commissioners of the Punjaub, where religious questions arose, were shown upon a previous page; and it is right that the public who read this History, should have a key to any anomalies of this nature that may arise upon the Scinde frontier, in connection with the commonplace but affectedly original infidelity of an officer whose military and administrative talents have won for him the position which he there occupies.

Some of the native states are on the coast: these, as well as contiguous maritime countries, were receptacles of pirates; but this condition of things has been brought to an end, partly by the negotiations of the company's residents and agents, and partly by the active operations of the Bombay marine. "The piracies which formerly made the navigation of the Arabian seas unsafe for commerce, have been so effectually suppressed by the East India Company's cruisers, that there is now hardly any part of the world in which trading vessels are more secure against depredation. The formerly piratical tribes have been bound by engagements to abstain not only from piracy, but from maritime war, which affords opportunities and pretexts for piracy; and, for the first time probably in history, a perpetual peace, guaranteed by treaties and enforced by superior naval strength, reigns in the Persian Gulf." The establishment of an English settlement at Aden, commanding the entrance to the Red Sea, has also much conduced to the impunity of merchant shipping in those gulfs and seas to the westward of India, as the establishments of the straits' settlements have assisted to protect the commerce of the Bay of Bengal, and the trade with China.

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* *Letters to a Lady.* By John Jacob.

CHAPTER X.

MARITIME SETTLEMENTS:—THE EASTERN STRAITS—BORNEO—ADEN.

What may be called the British maritime settlements in the East are important. On page 27 those in the Eastern Straits are named Penang, Province Wellesley, Singapore, and Malacca. The probable area and population were then also given.

The Island of Penang, officially called the Prince of Wales's Island, off the west coast of Malaya, was acquired by the East India Company in 1785; and the small province of Wellesley, on the mainland, was obtained in 1800. The island derives its name from the magnificent betel-nut palm (*Penang*). Georgeton is the capital. Arrowsmith, in a brief paragraph, expresses all that is necessary to notice here of this maritime possession of the company:—"The strait between the peninsula of Malaya and the isle of Sumatra is known by the name of the Strait of Malacca. In it, about midway down the coast of the peninsula, and at a distance of two miles from it, is Pulo-Penang, or Prince of Wales's Island, as it is also called. This island belongs to the British, having been given by the King of Quedah, as a marriage portion with his daughter, to the captain of a British merchant ship, in 1785; it was accordingly taken possession of during the following year, in the name of his majesty, and for the use of the East India Company; who, finding it a convenient situation for the purposes of commerce, and a place of rising importance, have constituted it into a separate government, subordinate only to the governor-general of India. At the commencement of the present century, the King of Quedah ceded to the British a tract of country, on the opposite coast of the peninsula, eighteen miles in length and three in breadth, in consideration of an annual tribute, which still continues to be paid to him. Pulo-Penang is a flourishing little settlement, and continues to increase both in population and utility, though it has been latterly eclipsed by Singapore."

Of the settlement of Malacca the same writer gives the following brief description, also sufficient for our purpose:—"Lower down the strait lies the town of Malacca itself, the capital of the whole peninsula, situated upon the coast, about one hundred miles from its southernmost point. It first fell into the hands of the Portuguese, from whom it was taken by the Dutch, and from the latter again by the British. It was formerly a place of some strength and consequence, but as the formation of our settlement at Pulo-Penang rendered it of little or no use as a place of trade, the garrison and stores were mostly withdrawn, the fortifications nearly razed, and the whole place dismantled. Since that time its importance has gradually been diminishing, though it is still a useful post as a guard against the piracies of the Malays, and the jealous intrusions of the Dutch."

The strip of country connected with this city is not more extensive than a large English county. To the Christian world the place is particularly interesting, as the seat of the celebrated Chinese college, founded under the auspices of the London Missionary Society in 1818, by Drs. Morrison and Milne. To the friends of Eastern enlightenment and civilization, and more especially those whose benevolent wishes in connection with such matters extend to China. the objects of the college must be regarded with pleasure, as it was founded for the cultivation of European and Chinese literature. It was at that place the work of translating the Scriptures into Chinese was undertaken by the two indefatigable men above named—a work which was afterwards brought to greater perfection by Dr. Medhurst, and others, under the united patronage of the London Missionary and Bible Societies.

The Island of Singapore was first the locality of a British settlement in 1818, but the whole island was ceded to them by the sultan in 1824. The natives call it *Ujang Launa*, or the Land's End. The town of

Singapore, which gives its name to the island, derives its name from the Malay term *Singapoora*, the City of the Lion. The work on geography used at King's College, thus describes it;—

"Singapore is situated at the southern extremity of the Malay peninsula, on a small island of the same name, and has given name to the Straits of Singapore, which are formed by a cluster of innumerable little islands, vary much in their shapes, and indented on all sides by little bays and sandy coves. Here the China Sea, which connects the Indian and Pacific Oceans, commences, being bounded on the west and north by the mainland of Asia, and on the east and south by Formosa, the Philippine Islands, Palawan, Borneo, Banka, &c. The town of Singapore is said to have been founded by adventurers, who originally emigrated from the Island of Sumatra, but it possessed little consequence till it fell into the hands of the British, to whom the sultan ceded it, as well as the neighbouring islets and districts for four leagues round it. It derives all its importance from its central situation between India and China; and touching upon the southernmost point in the whole continent of Asia, it becomes, as it were, the last connecting link between the mainland and that extensive archipelago of large and productive islands which lies off this extremity of the old world. It has no native productions of its own to export, and must therefore be looked upon merely as a depot for the consignment and sale of merchandise. But the increase of its population, and its transit of goods, during the last five years, are without example in the annals of history, and are owing, no doubt, to the superior regulations of the British traders, and the advantages they hold out to the natives of the surrounding countries, when compared with the well-known habits and policy of the Dutch, as well as to the facility which it has afforded our own merchants for the exercise of their ingenuity in escaping from the fetters of prejudice and monopoly. Its population amounts to nearly sixty thousand souls, and is composed of British, Dutch, Portuguese, Americans, Malays, Hindoos, Arabs, Parsees, Birmese, Siamese, Chinese, Javanese, and colonists from many of the great islands in the neighbourhood."

A merchant who sailed thither from Batavia thus describes the latter portion of the voyage:—"We arrived at Minto (named, I suppose, after the British governor-general) at night, and early in the morning steamed for Rhio, and then we have no more stopping-places till we arrive at Singapore. Banka is noticeable only for its tin mines; about four thousand tons are annually shipped from Minto, and if modern machinery were introduced larger quantities could be procured. The ore is found near the surface, and is said to be the finest known. There are only twenty-five European residents. The mines are worked by Chinese coolies, who are brought down for sale—a damnable species of slave-trade peculiar to these nations! The Straits of Banka are about one hundred miles long, and in one place only seven wide, which gives us a fine view of the long coast of Sumatra. In some places the land is very low, and you cannot even find Horsburgh's tree; and then you have a volcanic range of mountain scenery, with foliage, from base to summit a beautiful green."

The harbour of Singapore is exceedingly picturesque; it is formed like a horse-shoe. The appearance of the city, the tropical foliage around it, and the highlands beyond, is pleasing. The "Kling" boatmen, after a contest for possession of the passenger, which is conducted with all the wild tones and gesticulations of savages, convey him safely ashore, and place him on a *gurry*, a vehicle drawn by a very rough horse; the driver, having a rope round the brute's head, flogs it with the other end, all the while running along beside it, until one of the hotels is reached, which are described by travellers as very large, very expensive, prettily situated, and very deficient in good cooks.

The island is about sixty miles in circumference, and is rapidly increasing in population. The scenery is, for so small a compass, diversified, and the soil is clothed with the luxuriance and beauty of the tropics.

Men of all nations that have any commerce touch at this port. The result of the mixed population, and the extensive foreign resort, is that a strange Babel of tongues is perpetually heard in the streets of the town and in the marts of commerce. It has been said that seventeen different languages and fifteen dialects may be heard in the city of Singapore every day! The town itself is healthily and pleasantly situated, and the country in its immediate vicinity is verdant with nutmeg and spice trees. It is undulated and well irrigated with natural streams and canals, formed to subserve the purposes of commerce. The fences of bamboo and rattan particularly strike strangers; they are nowhere in the East so fine or so well tended.

The European population does not exceed three hundred; these are nearly all British, a few Dutch being the exception. The half-castes are very numerous, many of whom come from Malacca; they are, as in Ceylon, Bombay, and elsewhere in the East, darker than the natives, and physically inferior. In Singapore and Malacca they are, however, generally superior intellectually to the unmixed native races. Half the population is Chinese; they hate Europeans, and are ready, if a favourable opportunity offered, or what they thought one, to rise and massacre the whole European population. This is the more remarkable, as they are treated with great kindness, have justice fairly administered to them, are free to leave the island, and free to trade. Many of them have realised a competency, and the richest man at Singapore is one of their country, who came there a beggar, and, by dint of craft and industry, attained to notorious wealth. These circumstances do not, however, make them loyal to the people who give them hospitality; they maintain an intimate correspondence with China, regard themselves as Chinese subjects, owing no allegiance to England, but desirous to seize the country in the name of the emperor, their master. The mandarins have as much authority over them as if they were a portion of the mob of Canton, cultivated rice-fields near the Grand Canal, or picked tea on the Chinese uplands. They are at heart savage and cruel, and, at the same time, sly and treacherous. The Malays are fierce, cruel, and crafty, and are much addicted to piratical offences, but altogether they are less dangerous, although far more troublesome, than the Chinese. The Chinese portion of the town is utterly filthy, sending forth a stench intolerable to all but its inhabitants.

The appearance of the people of so many nations in so small a compass is at once picturesque and curious. The natives of all the various countries above-named, who find labour and subsistence at Singapore, retain their costume as well as their customs, and betray their nationality by their appearance as well as by their language.

The port is open to the commerce of all countries; there being no dues or taxes, except a small import for the lighthouse. The revenue of the island is small; the budget for the fiscal year 1853-4 showed—receipts £47,697, and expenditure £55,242. One of the resources of the exchequer is the opium tax, which has been generally farmed by a cunning Chinamen, who has realised wealth by it. There is a constant source of litigation and chicanery in this opium farming, discreditable to the government and demoralising to those who undertake the task of collection. A change in this matter is requisite.

From the foregoing description of the place and its inhabitants, no one would suppose that literature flourished there, yet in few places out of the United States of America are there so many newspapers in proportion to population.*

The accounts of the government are kept in rupees, annas, and pice; those of merchants in dollars and cents. A considerable agitation existed for some time on this subject; the East India Company being desirous to conform the mercantile usage to that of the government, whereas the mercantile community strenuously maintained the convenience of the system so long in use. This controversy occasioned the compilation of the following statistical tables, which afford a comparative statement relative to the transactions of the colony with those countries where the rupee is current, and where the dollar currency prevails:—

The dollar is current in the following, viz.—Borneo, Celebes, China, Cochin-China, Java, Rhio, and islands to the southward, Kongpoot, Malay peninsula, Manilla, Siam, Sumatra.

The rupee is current in the following, viz.:—Nicobars, Pegu, Rangoon, Arracan, Calcutta, and coasts of Coromandel and Malabar.

The trade between Singapore and dollar countries during the last two years was as follows:—

	1852-3. Dollars.	1853-4. Dollars.
Imports	7,458,875	9,649,060
Exports	8,036,382	11,074,622
Total . . .	15,495,257	20,723,682

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* The Singapore *Free Press*. Established 1833. Weekly. Subscription, sixteen dollars per annum.

Singapore *Straits Times*. Weekly. Subscription, sixteen dollars per annum. Established in 1845.

The *Straits Times Express*, for Australia, is got up at the *Times* press. Price, one shilling per copy.

The *Straits Guardian*. Editor, A. Simonides. Weekly. Subscription, twelve dollars per annum.

The *Free Press* and *Guardian* are printed with common hand-presses.

The *Straits Times* press establishment comprises letter-press, copper-plate, and lithographic work; bookbinding in all its branches.

The workmen consist of Hindoos, Portuguese, Chinese, Malays, Javanese, and Klings (natives of the Coromandel coast); and it is the more remarkable to see how well they do their work in a language which they do not understand.

The Singapore News-room, as it is called, is the newspaper file-room of the editor of the *Straits Times*. The room is a large one, sixty feet by forty, and contains one hundred and twenty files of papers from all parts of the globe, most of them exchanges. The room is well supplied with prices current, maps, &c., and is in the centre of the commercial part of the town. Officers of ships of war, commanders of merchant vessels, and strangers (passengers), who arrive by the many steamers and sailing-vessels constantly passing through the harbour, are admitted free of charge. Here will be found files of the Indian, China, and Australian journals; also the New York *Shipping List* and *Price Current*, *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* (which, by the way, may be found in the commercial library of all nations), and several San Francisco papers.

With the rupee countries during the same period it has been thus:—

	1852-3. Dollars.	1853-4. Dollars.
Imports	3,540,992	4,927,382
Exports	1,951,016	2,297,215
Total . . .	5,492,008	7,224,597

The treasure imports and exports during the same period has been as follows:—

From the dollar countries,—

	1852-3. Dollars.	1853-4. Dollars.
Imports	1,293,263	1,712,862
Exports	3,857,622	4,628,308
Total . . .	5,150,885	6,341,170

From the rupee countries,—

	1852-3. Dollars.	1853-4. Dollars.
Imports	16,558	883,092
Exports	1,047,819	789,407
Total . . .	1,064,377	1,672,499

The foregoing table was drawn up to show the amount of trade carried on between countries where the dollar and rupee were respectively current and the port of Singapore, in order that those interested in the question might see at a glance the preponderance of the dollar, as a coin, over the rupee, in the dealings with the natives frequenting that emporium, and to prove the injudicious policy of interfering with the currency at present established.

The excess of trade represented by the dollar countries as compared with the rupee provinces is as follows:—

Years.	Dollars.
1851-2	9,129,080
1852-3	10,003,249
1853-4	13,499,085

The transactions in treasure are also in favour of the dollar, and show a surplus, as follows:—

Years.	Dollars.
1851-2	1,745,539
1852-3	4,086,508
1853-4	4,668,671*

MEMORANDA FROM RETURNS MADE TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Table of Moneys.—4 pice make 1 cent; 2⅔ cents 1 anna; 16 annas 1 rupee (R); 100,000 rupees 1 lac; 100 lacs 1 crore.

Table of Weights.—Measures of capacity are rarely used, and then only with certain articles, such as tobacco, &c. 16 taels make 1 catty, equal to 1 lb. 5 oz. 5½ grs., or 1⅓ lb. avoirdupois; 100 catties make 1 (Chinese) picul, equal to 133⅓ lbs. avoirdupois; 40 (Chinese) piculs 1 royan; 2 (Malay) piculs 1 char. The Malay catty weighs 24 Spanish dollars, and the Chinese catty weighs 22½ Spanish dollars. The native merchants buy all imported produce from the islands by the Malay picul, but sell it by the Chinese picul.

Rice is sold by the royan of 40 piculs.

Salt by the same, but weighs about 52 piculs.

Gold and silver thread by a particular catty of 36 dollars weight.

Gold-dust by the bunkal, which weighs 2 dollars, equal to 832 grs. troy.

Java tobacco is sold by the corge of 40 baskets.

Indian piece goods by the corge of 20 pieces.

Wheat and grain by the bag, containing 2 Bengal maunds; the maund is 61½ catties, equal to 82 lbs. avoirdupois.

Freights.—Ships of moderate size, say from 300 to 500 tons, are most in demand for charters. The rates at which foreign bottoms are freighted or chartered depend on the demand for and supply of tonnage, the sailing qualities of the vessel, and the kind of cargo to be transported. These vary so greatly, that it is impossible to give them even approximately.

Commissions.—The ships of all nations, except those of the United States, pay a uniform commission of 10 per cent., which covers all expenses for purchasing or selling. For the American trade (U. S.) the usages are different, and are as follows:—

Commissions on sales of goods or purchase of produce, free of risk, either in sales or on advances on produce*	2½	per cent.
Negotiating bills of exchange	1	,,
Interest on moneys advanced, at per annum.	12	,,
Ships' disbursements	2½	,,

Added to these expenses are boat and coolie hire, and warehousing, the charges for which, being governed by circumstances, differ widely.

Sales and purchases.—Sales of imports are effected in the usual manner, by private arrangement with the buyer. Few articles of import are cleared by public auction.

Purchase of cargo outward.—This is done by private contract (never at public sales) by the house to which the master of the vessel is consigned, the said house buying the goods from the natives, or, more generally, from the Chinese dealers, who are the "first hands."

Terms of purchase.—These are, first, cash, or, second, confirmed credits from well-known houses, either in London or Liverpool.

Exchanges.—The true par of exchange between the United States and this port cannot be determined. The most just approximation is to add to the Singapore rate of exchange on London the current premium of New York drafts on London, plus 2 a 4 per cent.

Wages.—With regard to the rate of wages in the various branches and occupations of labour, and of personal service in the business of commerce and trade, only a few instances can be specified, such as bookkeepers, mercantile assistants, and clerks, who receive from 500 dollars to 3000 dollars per annum.†

In connection with the straits settlements there is a desideratum of too much consequence to be overlooked—namely, some efficient arrangement for suppressing the Coolie trade. This traffic is not permitted from British ports, and wherever British consuls are it is opposed, but means are found, by Americans more particularly, for carrying it on in a manner fearfully destructive to human life. The unfortunate objects of this commerce are imposed upon by promises of a five years' engagement of labour, with remuneration, which to them is a strong temptation to embark in the enterprise; they are borne away to Cuba or South America, and consigned to hopeless slavery. Some of our Indian subjects are in this manner deceived, and made slaves. American authors and travellers have admitted and condemned the procedure. The following extract from one of those who saw what he describes, and did his best to acquire accurate information concerning it, is as painful to peruse as it is faithfully narrated:—"The *Westward Ho*, Boston clipper, has just passed Anjer with eight hundred coolies from Swatow to Callao, and others have passed and are continually passing with their living freights. The days of the African slave-trade are with the past, save what the Brazilian and Cuban traders may be engaged in; but the traffic in human life is not wholly abolished when we see English coal-ships, Peruvian convict-hulks, and American clippers, all heading towards the west coast of South America, every square foot of space occupied by a poor Chinaman, who thinks, when he receives a dollar in hand, to be spent in clothing, and makes a contract to work five years at eight dollars per month (fifty dollars being deducted for a passage, and all the rise he may want guaranteed), that he is leaving purgatory for paradise. But when his owner puts him to work on the guano deposits, under the burning sun of the Chinchas, he will find out how sadly he has been deceived. That horrible affair of the *Waverley*, Boston ship, at Manilla, it makes me shudder to think of it, and chills my very blood when fancy pictures the blackened swollen forms of two hundred and fifty human beings, the one piled on another—worse even than the frozen soldiers of Napoleon on the Niemen and at Smolensko, or the startling horrors of the Black Hole at Calcutta. American clippers are daily leaving. The *Westward Ho*, *Hussey*, and *Bald Eagle*, with about seven hundred each, have left, the former to Callao, the latter to Havannah. The *Australia* and *Bonaventura*, with four hundred each, have gone to Havannah; and the *Amelia*, of Boston, has sailed with six hundred for Callao. The *War Hawk*, two thousand ton clipper, with nine hundred was loading for the same port; the *Winged Racer*, of Boston, Captain Gorham, was about to sail with seven hundred for Havannah." This was the state of things in reference to the coolie traffic just two years ago. From the eastern shores of Bengal, the Coromandel coast, the straits, Siam, and China, in a greater or less degree, this vile traffic goes on, in spite of the East India Company and the British government. All the South American states having, or professing to have, any commerce with the Indo-Chinese peninsula are implicated. The consuls of Peru, in some cases, openly abet it.

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* Mr. Woods, Editor of the *Straits Times*.

* Both these are guaranteed for an extra 2½ per cent., or 5 per cent. in all.

† C. W. Bradley, American consul at Singapore.

Some of the foregoing statistics would appropriately come within a chapter on the general commerce of our Eastern empire, but the tables comprehend so much that is local, and relates to the internal arrangements as well as external relations of the island, that it seems better to give them in this place.

The British settlements of BORNEO are on the western coasts of that island, and hold an anomalous relation to the British government. They are the result of the private enterprise of a brave and adventurous man, Sir James Brooke, who has acquired sovereignty, and bears the title of rajah. He is not only willing but anxious to surrender that sovereignty to the crown of England, but, although considerable importunity has been used by persons interested in the commerce of the neighbouring seas, and although the press of Great Britain has in strong terms censured the government for its neglect, nothing has been done for securing these colonies to the crown. The Dutch have settled in other portions of the island, and claim the sovereignty of the whole, except those portions where Sir James Brooke has established his colonies—Sarawak and Labuan. The British rajah is not a young man, and should he die, there is every likelihood that the Dutch will take possession of those settlements, unless in the meantime the British government assert its supremacy. It will hardly be possible for the *vis inertiæ*, so characteristic of English governments in colonial matters, to resist much longer the strong pressure of public opinion in favour of an arrangement with Sir James, just and beneficial both to him and to the colony.

There are only two islands in the world larger than Borneo—viz., Australia and New Guinea. It is situated to the east of Sumatra and Malaya, and to the south-eastward of the empire of Annam, on the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The people are pagans, except a comparative few, who have embraced Mohammedanism. Their rites are sanguinary, their worship gloomy, and the attributes they ascribe to deity in reality describe a fiend. They are of various races: Dyaks, Javanese, Malays, Siamese, and Chinese, inhabit the island, as well as the aboriginal races. Formerly there were British settlements on the coasts, but tacitly the Dutch were allowed to claim sovereignty. This makes it somewhat difficult for the British government to assume authority in the colonies established by Sir James Brooke, and places them in a position which is as dangerous as it is exceptional.

From Labuan, on the north-east coast, to Sarawak, on the south-east, coal is abundant. This circumstance gives these settlements an especial value in their relation to the British

Eastern possessions. The expenditure of coal by the English navy in the Eastern seas is enormous. Eight thousand tons per month were consumed, in 1856, by the naval squadron in the waters of China alone. During 1857 probably two hundred thousand tons were required. All this is carried out from home. It is undeniable that the position of Borneo in relation to Australia, China, and India, makes it most important in connection with its coal resources.

In order to accomplish industrial undertakings, Sir James has had to employ many Chinese. The Dyaks will not work mines; they believe the bowels of the earth to be filled with demons, and no rewards can stimulate their courage or their labours, although brave and energetic in other enterprises. These Chinese settlers, influenced by emissaries from Canton and Singapore, revolted in 1857, and endeavoured to massacre Sir James and the British. The energy of the English rajah, and the gallant co-operation of the Dyaks, enabled him utterly to subdue the revolt. Sir James has established churches, schools, hospitals, and other concomitants and means of civilization; piracy, once the scourge of the Indian Archipelago, has been entirely suppressed; and nothing seems wanting to the prosperity of the eastern shores of Borneo but the acknowledged shield of British power, and the prestige of her majesty's imperial authority.

The last of the maritime settlements of England which it is necessary to notice as connected with her Eastern empire is ADEN. This place is situated near the entrance of the Red Sea, and was occupied by the East India Company for the purposes of suppressing piracy and of awing Persia. In the historical portion of the work that circumstance will more properly come under consideration. The Arabs regarded the possession of the ancient port of Aden by the infidels as a great indignity, and made desperate efforts to recover it. It was necessary for the company to negotiate with the Sultan of Labad, whose acquiescence they secured. The rock of Aden rises two thousand feet above the level of the sea. To the British it is an excellent coaling-station, apart from its political importance. The native population is about twenty thousand. Few Europeans reside there, except those in the service of the company. The garrison consists of a detachment of European soldiers and a regiment of sepoys. A recent traveller, whose observations are as correct as his pen is sprightly, thus conveys the impressions left on his mind by a visit:—"The rock, the plain, and the whole shore look barren enough; nor bird, nor beast, nor plant, nor creeping thing—you might almost say, without misrepresenting:—nothing at any rate of note can be seen from our anchorage or from the fort and village on the beach. You must have a donkey or an Arab horse the moment you get ashore, and take a ride along the beach, through the thatched village, past the mass of granite rock, over the long military road, down under the bridge, through the deep, dark passage-way cut out of the solid rock, to the cantonments, or barracks, in the valley beneath, where you will find the native town, the sepoy barracks, the European settlements, the chapel on the hill for the Episcopalians, and the cathedral below for the Roman Catholics, the drill-ground, and all that there is to note at Aden. On every side of you nothing but rock, rock, rock. It would be banishment to live here. The company have spent plenty of money in fortifying, but the money has not been well invested, say some of our military passengers. I am astonished to see how poorly fortified are many of the ports of England's colonies. It would appear to me that, had the Russian China fleet been willing to run the risk of British cruisers, they might have bombarded Singapore, Penang, Madras, and Aden; but the destruction of property would have been the only inducement, as they could not have held the places for any length of time, for the oriental steamers can transport troops post-haste to protect the flag of England. But there is one thing pretty certain—India can spare no troops for the Crimea; she wants them all within her empire, for the natives are always plotting." The last remark of this quotation is worthy of the serious attention of the British public. The alarm felt during the Russian war along the seaboard of India, and in the British maritime possessions in the East, was described and discussed by the author of this History in another work,* but it is here also necessary to point out the defenceless condition of those colonies, and of the seaboard of India. The Indian navy, however excellently officered or manned, and however efficient for the suppression of piracy or hostile operations in the Arabian Sea and its gulfs, is inadequate for the defence of India and the straits settlements during war with a naval power. The royal squadron in the Chinese waters, except during hostilities with that country, does not constitute a sufficient force for such a purpose in conjunction with the Indian navy. The land defences of India and of the various settlements already described ought to be on a scale of greater efficiency, whatever confidence the naval superiority of the British empire may inspire.

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* *Illustrated History of the War against Russia.* J. S. Virtue, City Road, and Ivy Lane, London.

Hong-Kong is one of our maritime settlements in the Eastern seas, but a description of it is omitted from this chapter, because it will necessarily be referred to in the next, as a part of China, under the head of independent countries with which we have been at war in the progress of our oriental dominion.

CHAPTER XI.

INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE BEEN THEATRES OF WAR DURING THE PROGRESS OF OUR EASTERN DOMINION.

CHINA.

WHILE we write, hostilities are being conducted against this country by the united arms of England and France. An infraction of treaty, the history and consequences of which will be recorded in the historical portion of this work, has led to the *dernier ressort* of aggrieved nations. This gives a peculiar interest at the present time to anything written concerning an empire so vast and a people so wilful—strangely uniting so many elements of weakness and power.

The Chinese empire is the most populous in the world, and the most populous also which the world has ever seen. It contains nearly four hundred millions of persons—one-third of the entire population of the globe. It is in all likelihood larger than Russia in Asia, and is only surpassed in area by Russia, including its European and American as well as Asiatic dominions, and by the British empire, which stretches over so many regions. The Chinese empire contains greater diversity of climate than any other, unless that under the dominion of England, which, in its European, African, Asiatic, Australian, and American territory, comprehends all climates, over areas which vie for extent even with the area of Russia.

It would be inappropriate to the nature of this work to give a minute account of China, while it is necessary to notice its position, extent, population, character, and resources, as one of those oriental powers with which we have been frequently at war, and within the dominions of which we have planted our flag.

The boundaries of the Chinese empire are Russian Asia on the north, India and the Indo-Chinese peninsula on the south, the Pacific Ocean on the east, and Turkistan on the west. Its area is computed to exceed five millions of square miles—equal to one-third of the Asiatic continent, considerably larger than Europe, and comprising one-tenth of the habitable globe. The natives designate it *Teen-hea* ("under heaven"), in order to express its vastness. The oceanic boundary consists of various seas and gulfs, formed by the continent and its archipelagoes, and by vast inlets. Among these are the Gulf of Tartary, the Sea of Japan, the Yellow Sea, so called from the colour of its waters, which contain a large quantity of earthy matter, brought into it by the rivers which give it its peculiar hue, and make it shallow; the Chinese Sea, which has obtained terrible notoriety by its typhoons. These hurricanes are the most violent of any in the world. They occur at remote intervals, in certain seasons, and may be guarded against, indications of their approach being made by sky and water, as well as by the signal fall of the barometer.

China proper is distinguished from the other portions of the empire, and comprises about one-fourth of its area. It lies on the south-east of the empire, and has a coast-line of two thousand five hundred miles, and a land frontier of four thousand miles. It is very mountainous, especially in the west; some of the mountains are perpetually covered with snow. Several ranges branch off to the east, approaching to the Pacific. The Nan-ling is one of these lateral ranges, and is known as intercepting the water communication between Canton and Pekin. The goods transported between these places are borne from one side of the range to the other through the passes by porters. The hills are covered with timber; where nature has not effected this, Chinese industry has accomplished it. The mountain slopes are planted with rice-fields and with gardens. There blossom the orange-tree, which is, in its season, prolific in fruit; there may be seen vast multitudes of beautiful camelias; also rice-fields carefully formed on terraces, and irrigated by Chinese industry and skill.

The principal portion of China proper is an alluvial plain, extending from Pekin along the Yellow Sea to Nankin, comprising nearly a quarter of a million square miles. This vast area is a rich granary, especially of rice, and the population is multitudinous. It is watered by the rivers Yang-tse-Kiang and Hoang-ho, which, rising in Thibet, flow west to east to the Yellow Sea, after courses of more than a thousand miles each. The Yang-tse-Kiang is the largest river in China, and is about sixty miles wide at its mouth, appearing like a sea. Nankin is situated on this river, about two hundred and twenty-five miles from its place of disemboguement. The Si-Kiang is the great river of the south, and well known by European mariners, as it passes by Canton. The Pei-ho is the great northern river, which falls into the Gulf of Po-cheeles. These rivers, and others of minor note, irrigate the country.

Few Europeans have been permitted either to travel inland, or by boat to pass any considerable distance up the rivers. Undoubtedly the most successful in the latter description of enterprise has been "the *Times*' special correspondent." Most of our Chinese travellers have seen only a few of the cities opened to Europeans by the treaty effected by Sir Henry Pottinger; what they relate is from hearsay. The gentleman above referred to has, by his courage and good fortune, been enabled to make his passage good along various river-courses, and to visit the cities on their banks. The Yang-tse, "the great river," "the father of rivers," "the girdle of the empire," as the Chinese love to call it, is for a long course, up to Shanghai, known to Europeans. The *Times*' correspondent, passing up from the sea, thus describes it:—

"Next morning we were still out of sight of land, but the leadman's cry told that we were steaming in shallow waters. The morning's bath showed that the water was quite fresh and opaque with rich and alluvial soil. There were no other symptoms of land. We were in the mouth of the mighty river Yang-tse—'the child of the ocean'—the richest river in the world—richest in navigable water, in mighty cities, in industrious human beings, in affluent tributaries, and in wild margins of cultivated land of exhaustless fertility. This vast expanse of turbid fresh water is saturated with the loam of fields fifteen hundred miles away. A portion of this rippling element was gathered upon those great mountain ranges of Central Asia where the Ganges, the Brahmapootra, and the two great rivers that irrigate Siam and Cochin-China, and the fierce 'yellow river' which pervades the north of China, divide the drainage. The volume was increased by every mountain and every descending streamlet through six hundred thousand square miles of midland China. In its pride and in its strength the proud river fights for a little while with ocean himself for empire, drives back his salt waves, and establishes a fresh-water province in the midst of his dominions. The Chinese love and venerate the Yang-tse as Chinese sons love and venerate their fathers. Philosophers draw their parables from his greatness and beneficence; historians chronicle his droughts and floods as events more important than the change of dynasties; and poets find his praises the most popular theme for their highest flight of song.

"We had steamed for some hours in this shallow sea, when a line, having length, but neither breadth nor thickness, became just visible far away upon our left. As our course was tangential to this line, it gradually became more distinct. Then through our glasses we could see a level coast, well timbered with trees—no palms or Eastern forms of foliage, but such an outline as we might trace on the banks of Essex or Lincolnshire. Between the river shore and the woodlands there was a margin of meadow land, where droves of cattle and flocks of sheep were depasturing, and everything around, except only the fierce sunshine, gave promise that we had escaped into an European climate. Then land upon the right grew into view—not the opposite bank of the Yang-tse, that is far out of sight, but an island which he is throwing up. From day to day he piles there the spoils he brings down from the midland province. The pilots say they can observe increase every week. The Chinese are already planting bamboo there to give solidity to the rich alluvial soil. A thousand squatters are ready to seize upon it and convert it into gardens immediately the tide shall cease to cover it.

"Fishing, and carrying, and convoying, a thousand junks and lorchas are scudding to and fro in the estuary. But we proceed not far up the channel of 'the child of the ocean.' A checker-painted sea-mark (which wants only a telegraph upon it to make its usefulness complete) and a floating lighthouse mark the point where the last tributary to the Yang-tse-Kiang, the river Wangpoo, joins its waters. Upon a low spit of land stands the desolate and amphibious-looking village of Woosung. The place is not really desolate, and is not really amphibious, for large fortunes are constantly being made here (the golden sands of commerce accumulate as rapidly as the deposits of Yang-tse-Kiang), and the piles on which the buildings are erected lift them up out of danger of inundation. But the Chinese have a talent for giving an appearance of squalor to their towns and villages."

The river beyond Shanghai is similar in character: still of immense width, shallow, loaded with alluvial matter, its banks swarming with populous villages, the occupants of which are ever busy in all the forms of industry known to China. Rich soil, fields carefully cultivated and luxuriantly productive, meet the eye of the voyager up this great artery of Chinese commerce. Here and there pagodas and temples present their strange forms to the traveller's gaze, while the wanderers are themselves objects of intense and not always amicable curiosity to the natives.

The enterprising gentleman just quoted also sailed up the great tributary of the Yang-tse—the Wangpoo, and has been enabled to describe what no other European, except those of his party, has been favoured to see. His letter was written on the 10th of August, 1857, and, from its recent date, derives very peculiar interest.

"On the appointed day, Mr. Edkins, the missionary, Dr. Dickson, of Canton, and myself started in three *sauchau* boats, with a fair flood tide, up the Wangpoo River. Our object was to reach Ningpo through the network of internal canals, and without crossing the bay. This is a journey never yet made even by the missionaries, and Mr. Edkins regards it as a pioneering expedition preparatory to future labours. Our first stage is to Hangchow, and thus far our boatmen have covenanted to convey us. These sauchau boats are somewhat like the larger gondolas which go outside into the Adriatic. The cabins are fitted up with no little pretension. Mine had plate-glass windows; much carving and some gilding had been lavished upon it. There was a joss-house with a vacant niche for any idol I might fancy to put there, and two ecclesiastical candlesticks, upon the spikes whereof I might, if I had pleased, burn any sized joss-sticks or wax candles. The extent of this, my habitation for the next six days, was however not great—it was seven feet six inches square. Nor was there provision for effeminate luxury. There was a locker within which I might put my most important baggage, on which I could spread my bamboo matting, and over which I hung my mosquito curtains; there was a small table and two camphor-wood stools. What more can a man want? There was a box, with 'Fortnum and Mason's' name upon it in one corner, a modicum of sherry and Bordeaux and a dozen of soda-water in another corner, and a revolver and double-barrelled gun handy to the grip. The use of the firearms is, I believe, solely this—the boatmen will not go on at night unless they know you have them. The adroitness of the Chinese thieves will justify their contempt for any barbarian swell mobsman. Mr. Edkins not long since found that some one had, during his slumbers, crept in at the cabin window, taken his keys out of his pocket, opened his trunk, and abstracted all his dollars, leaving the trunk open, and nothing else, not even the proprietor, disturbed. But I do not hear of any open piratical attacks up the country, and you do not want firearms to drive away a thief. The first thing he would steal would probably be the gun and the revolver.

"Off we go, then, up this tributary, of the Yang-tse-Kiang. About four miles an hour is our pace, propelled as we are by one gigantic oar, worked over the stern by three men, curved in the handle, and made to perform in the water the evolution we call skulling. We pass through the European shipping, by the floating bath, and into and along moored tiers of junks, which may almost vie in numbers with the shipping in our pool. Hundreds of these ply between Shanghai and Amoy, bringing sugar here and taking cotton back. A thousand others will start this season for Shantung, and will carry with them one hundred thousand pieces of our grey shirtings—a demand owing, the merchants say, to exceptional causes. In an hour we are clear of the environs of Shanghai, and we look to see the river contract to the proper decent dimensions of a third-rate stream. Nothing of the sort. Seven miles up the Wangpoo is still quite a mile in width, and for the greenness and flatness of its banks, and the European outline of foliage, we might be a little below Gravesend. Resenting, perhaps, my small respect for him as a third-class river, the Wangpoo treats us to a capful of wind just as the tide is finished, and the boatmen incontinently run into a creek, which leads up to a village possessing a high pagoda and a Buddhist monastery.

"We passed the night upon the wide and troubled waters of the Wangpoo with less of meekness than befitted the peaceful character of my companion. I insisted upon starting as soon as the flood tide made. Every wave seemed to break under the flat bottom of my boat, and she rolled and quivered and creaked as though she would have quoted Mencius to rebuke my impatience. But the night was very beautiful. It was so hot that I lay outside, with my head against the broad junk-like prow, and even the rushing wind brought no coolness; the round moon looked down in all her splendour, but did not dim the light of the big stars. Ever as one of our sister boats went ahead, the oar oscillating to and fro at her stern, produced a sheet of phosphoric radiance which neither moon nor stars could pale. Sometimes we neared the banks, and then the monotonous croak of the frog was heard, and in sheltered places flights of fireflies, like flakes of diamond, fluttered up and down among the cotton plants, and then also myriads of mosquitoes, of great stature, came off and sounded their declarations of war in my ears.

"We were not alone on the Wangpoo. On the contrary, there were never less than a hundred sail. Up the flood tide of the Wangpoo Dr. Dickson's boat separated from us last night, and is not come up. The boatmen talk of perils from pirates or foundering in the storm. We wait and send back runners, and learning no tidings, conclude he has returned to Shanghai. Two large navigable tributaries fall in, but the river above is not much decreased in width. After some hours' further voyage, the Wangpoo loses its name and form. It divides into two equal channels, one of which descends from the right, and comes down from a string of lakes that extend to Soo-choo; the other is our way. Tributaries and canals now come quickly in, showing how wonderfully ramified is the internal water communication of this land. Of course the volume of the stream contracts as we ascend. At night the action of the tide is but faintly felt, and we anchor in a channel about fifty yards wide. In the moonlight Dr. Dickson's boat comes up with a tale of adventure. The next day was a day of canals and great cities."

The aids to the river navigation and irrigation of China by canals are numerous—the Grand Canal being the largest work of the kind in the world, and history supplies no ground for believing that any work of equal magnitude has ever existed. The scenery, rural and social, on the banks of the Grand, or, as it is also called, the Imperial Canal, is to European eyes most peculiar. The fullest account extant written by an English eye-witness, is that of the *Times*' correspondent, who visited it late in the autumn of 1857:—

"The only Chinese objects which to the eye of Western taste are really beautiful, are the bridges that cross their canals at frequent intervals. The willow-pattern plate, so faithful in other matters, does not do them justice. Sometimes they consist of three arches, but generally of only one. In the latter case, solid masonry of carefully-faced granite or limestone, advances into the water from either side. In the centre springs a light and graceful arch—more than a semicircle, quite half an oval; it springs forty feet high, and the crown of the arch has not two feet of superstructure resting upon it. There is no keystone, but the thin coping-stones are cut in the proper curve. The bridge itself is a terrace, mounted by steps on either side at an angle of forty-five degrees. The effect is very graceful and airy, and as no wheeled carriages are used in China (except wheelbarrows), they answer all practical purposes. A sunset on the Imperial Canal, with the monuments on the banks, a vista of these bridges, and the mountains of Nganhwui in the far distance, is a sight I shall remember when I look again upon Claudes and Turners. We are thankful that at last there are mountains in view; for this perpetual level, fat and fertile as it is, grows depressing. It is our fifth day, and we are expecting to reach Hangchow, where all our difficulties of transit must be expected. While writing I have passed along five miles of rural district, with banks all built up, like a Parisian quay, of wrought granite, and the towing-path carried over stone bridges which cross the frequent branches of this immense artificial navigation. I despair of conveying the idea of cyclopean work, enormous traffic, patient industry, vast natural fertility, individual content, and peaceful prosperity with which this journey impresses me. The pagodas are in ruins, and where the quays have fallen there is no hand to repair them. The imperial grain-junks are rotting, and the few forts are in decay; but these evidences of decrepitude in the rulers have not yet operated to affect the personal happiness which springs from fertile lands and industrious husbandmen. At the end of one of the long straight lines of this highway we discern at last a far extending mass of houses, whose walls exult in bright whitewash, and whose roofs are all of old grey tiles. These houses seem to extend far back, and to overspread the plain that intervenes between the bank of the canal and the highlands that form the background of our present view. This, seen through a mob of junks, moving and still, is Hangchow as it appears from the Imperial Canal. All things indicate the capital of a great province. Our old friends the imperial grain-junks have been rotting in hundreds for the last ten miles, the canal has been of extending width, mandarin passage-boats, towed by strings of coolies, have gone by sounding their gongs, and flaunting their banners, while the mandarin looked out from his seat of honour, and from behind his fan eagerly eyed the strangers. The commercial navy of China (*pur sang*—no schooners or lorchas) were taking in paper, tea, rice, oil, bamboo basket-work, and a thousand other articles of produce. They are loading the tea here in its natural state, in chests protected by matting. It is all for Shanghai and the export-market; that is to say, it is all of that high-dried kind which will pass the sea. I counted eighteen junks, of about two hundred tons each, lying together ready laden with this European necessity."

The productions of the country are numerous and abundant, and the extreme industry of the people adds to the fecundity of their fertile soil. Rice is the great staple, but many valuable fruits and vegetables are also produced. The sugar-cane is, in some districts, very fine, and is used in various ways by the inhabitants. The mulberry-tree abounds, especially along the tributaries of the Yang-tse, and in the country near the Imperial (or Grand) Canal. Beans are extensively cultivated in some districts. Very useful trees, shrubs, and plants, yielding food or materials for commerce, are abundant all over China: the Japan varnish, known to British commerce, is distilled from the lacker shrub; material for candles is obtained from the tallow-tree; rice paper, as it is termed, is procured from a leguminous plant common in the marshes; the lotus is made useful for food and other purposes; cuniferous trees are abundant. The humblest cottager contrives to cultivate some garden vegetables, with persistent industry, in places the most disadvantageous.

The tea-plant is known to be indigenous to China, the rest of the world deriving its chief supplies from thence. This plant (*Thea Chinensis*) is an evergreen, and a very hardy shrub in China, although in India, both in Assam and the Himalayas, it has been necessary to treat it as a delicate plant. It attains the height of five or six feet. The tea exporting districts are not so extensive as is generally supposed in Europe, being confined to limited portions of the provinces of Fo-kien, Quang-tung, Kiang-see, Kiang-su, and Tche-kiang. In almost all the other provinces the amount produced is consumed where grown, and is of a coarse quality, unsuitable for commerce. Fo-kien exports the greatest quantity of black, and Kiang-su the greatest quantity of green. It is not generally known that both kinds are obtained from plants of the same species: the difference in the exported commodities arises from the leaves having been collected at different stages of their growth; and from the employment of colouring matter with the green, such as Prussian blue and gypsum. The young leaves before they expand, and the mere shoots, yield a black tea called Pekoe, and a green tea called Young Hyson, which is prepared as to colour by tinctures. When the young leaves have fully opened out, the tea is called Pouchong, Souchong, and Camper as black tea, and Imperial Gunpowder and Hyson as green teas. The older and stronger leaves receive the name of Congou as a black tea, and Twankay and Hyson skins as green teas. The oldest and coarsest of the leaves produce Bohea, the lowest in quality.

The skill with which the cultivators of the plant superintend its growth has much to do with the quality of the tea produced. This was made evident by the experiments of the East India Company. It was not until Chinese cultivators were employed, and some of the company's agents proceeded to China and studied the treatment of the shrub, that their plantations in the Himalayas prospered; and even in Assam such arrangements were necessary.

The Dutch, in 1610, were the first to import tea into Europe: it was more than half a century later before it was brought to England. Two-thirds of all the tea exported from China is consumed by the English. The Americans, Dutch, and Russians are the only other peoples who extensively import it.

The botany and flora of China are very varied and beautiful. Even in prolific India and Ceylon, the botanical gardens are indebted to China for a rich portion of their exotic treasures. It is probable that even the fairy floral scenes of the Indian slopes of the Himalayas are exceeded in beauty by those of the southern mountains of China. These are literally clad with azalea; and amidst the beauty thus produced, there is a profusion of gorgeous shrubs and flowers—clematis, roses, honeysuckle, and numerous wild flowers and shrubs, known only to the botanists and florists of Europe, are spread out in endless variety, forming a natural carpet of the most glowing hues. "The flowery land" is no boast, however vain the Chinese may be of applying the appellation to their country. Cashmere may surpass, and Ceylon may rival, the floral beauties of China—and there are a few spots on the great table-land of the Deccan where flowering shrubs, within a more limited range, are produced equally fine; but it is to be doubted whether elsewhere in the world there is another such land of flowers as the regions of the southern hills.

China is not rich in domestic animals: horses, oxen, and sheep are not plentiful, nor are their species good. It does not pay to rear domestic animals. The population, especially of some provinces, is so numerous, that every inch of land is required for tillage to supply man with food; while, at the same time, human labour is too cheap for that of horses and oxen to be profitably used. In the south-west the tiger and rhinoceros are found, but not in great numbers. The tiger is a fine and fierce creature, resembling that of Bengal, but rather inferior in size and strength.

The ornithology of China is very various. The gold and silver pheasants are beautiful creatures, by many supposed to be finer than the pheasant of the Himalayas. Domestic fowl grow to a very large size, and the eggs are of a magnitude which surprise Europeans. The forms of the ornithological productions of China are often very peculiar, and not unfrequently very beautiful.

The ichthyology of China is also varied, and exceedingly beautiful. Gold and silver fish, so much admired as domestic pets in England, are common in China. Sturgeon, and other large fish, are abundant and excellent in quality. Shell-fish are exceedingly various: the natives eat every species, and the poor classes seem to do so without discrimination. The number of persons employed in the sea fisheries is very great, although in consequence of the prevalence of piracy they incur great danger, their cargoes being frequently seized, and the boats' crews massacred from sheer love of cruelty. It is necessary, in consequence of this state of things, for a fleet of fishing boats to go out with a convoy. The fishing boats which ply off the mouth of the river Yang-tse pay convoy duties, which amount to fifty thousand dollars a year. The wood junks which ply between Ningpo and Foo-chow pay three times as much as the fishing junks. The vessels which lately acted the part of protectors were Portuguese lorchas, but they changed their character into pirates more formidable than those they were hired to repel. They made descents upon the villages, destroyed the fishing tackle and store-houses, slew the men, and carried off the women. The Portuguese consuls winked at these atrocities, and at last appeared to be their patrons; for men captured in the acts of murder or spoliation were handed over to the Portuguese consul, and were allowed to escape with impunity. The Chinese government actually hired the old pirates to put down the new ones, and a conflict ensued, in which the Portuguese behaved with a cowardice seldom equalled, their junks were destroyed, their fugitives pursued on land and slain, and the Portuguese consul, their abettor, driven from Ningpo. This occurred in 1854, since which the fisheries have been protected, and the supply greatly increased.

The mineral productions of China are very rich, the principal being copper, zinc, quicksilver, and *kaolin*, or porcelain earth, of various sorts, some of the finest quality. The precious metals are found in small quantities. The most important mineral resource of the empire is coal, which exists in vast quantities, and over a widespread area. In the neighbourhood of Pekin, the coal deposits are worked on an extensive scale, as wood is scarce, which the Chinese always prefer for fuel. Frequent outcrops show that there are immense seams of coal in the vicinity even of Pekin, never yet worked. The Chinese are bad miners, although they work assiduously when directed by skilful engineers. They do not use vertical shafts, and are ignorant of the means by which water is exhausted from mines. In consequence of the necessity of emptying the water with small casks, and of carrying up the coal in small baskets, the expense of working these collieries is considerable, notwithstanding the cheapness of labour. Consequently, even in the vicinity of the coal seams, the poor use for fuel slack, coal gravel, and yellow clay, mixed with water into a thick paste, and moulded and baked like bricks.

The porcelain clay is obtained chiefly in the neighbourhood of King-te-takin, a town and district in the province of Kiang-see, east of the Payang Lake. In the town and district there are said to be two millions of persons engaged in the porcelain manufacture. There are not less than five hundred furnaces in the town alone. Chinamen say that the aspect by day and night in this neighbourhood is remarkable — clouds of smoke darkening the sun, or pillars of fire illuminating the sky. Their descriptions correspond with what the traveller sees in England when travelling through the great manufacturing districts of Warwickshire and Staffordshire. Foreigners being carefully excluded, to prevent discovery of the processes of the manufacture, there is no reliable testimony as to the true condition of the district, or the extent of its manufacture: all classes in China, from the throne to the coolie, delight in lying, and there is no form of falsehood which they so much practise as exaggerated statements of the population, resources, beauty, and power of their country.

The porcelain earth is a clay resulting from the decomposition of felspar; the colour is white, yellow, or reddish white. It is not generally superior in China for manufacturing purposes to that which is found in Cornwall, in England, in the Island of Bornholm, in the Baltic, or in Germany.

Among the productions of China silk is prominent. The mulberry-tree has been long a staple production, and the wide area over which it grows, together with its excellence, enables the Chinese to rear vast numbers of the worm. China may be said to be the country *par excellence* of silk, of which there seems to be an inexhaustible source. It furnishes large quantities to the neighbouring nations and to Europe, and also clothing for the greater part of the inhabitants: there are very few, except of the lowest orders, but what are clad in silk garments.

To the Chinese we owe the knowledge of the manufacture of silk, and that which is imported excels that of every other country in brilliancy and colour. The imports of China silk have largely increased of late years. The imports, which in 1830 were 6000 bales, and in 1846 14,103 bales, had risen in 1856 to 56,561 bales. The average weight of the bales of China silk is—raw, 103 lbs. nett; thrown, 113 lbs. nett. Assuming the bales to be 1 cwt. each, the imports in 1856 amounted to 2828 tons.

"China silk consists of two leading kinds, produced severally in the provinces of Canton and Nankin. The latter, which is very superior to the Canton silk, is known in commerce under the names of Tsatlee and Taysaam. Tsatlee is the Canton patois for Tsih Sé, or seven cocoons, the mode in which this silk was, perhaps, originally reeled. It is now quite otherwise. Taysaam is the Tatsan of the Chinese, literally the *gros cocon* of the French, and is significantly descriptive of this kind. Unlike the production of silk in Italy, France, and Bengal, in China there are no large filatures or extensive establishments for reeling silk of a known size, quality, or kind, uniformly regular throughout. All China silk is the produce of cottage or domestic husbandry, and is mostly reeled by the peasant population which raises the worm. The wholesale prices on the 1st of January, 1857, were as follows, being nearly double the rates ruling a quarter of a century ago:—Tsatlee, first and second, 25*s.* to 26*s.*; ditto, third and fourth, 23*s.* to 24*s.* 6*d.*; Taysaam, 19*s.* to 23*s.* 6*d.*; Canton, 13*s.* to 19*s.* 6*d.*; China thrown, 18*s.* to 26*s.*" [*]

The silkworm gut, used for fishing in China, and exported for that purpose to other countries, is produced in large quantities. "In making silkworm gut, the silkworm caterpillar is immersed in vinegar when it has left off feeding, and is looking out for a convenient corner to spin his cocoon. The silk-bag is then perfected, and out of this the gut is prepared in pure strong vinegar. The time for maceration is about three weeks, or more if the weather should be cold and unfavourable. When near the time, one or two of the worms are taken out and tried. After due maceration, the worm is broken exactly across the silk-bag, and the two parts are drawn gently asunder, until the gut appears to be of the proper thickness, and then hung up to dry in the air." [*]

The raw silk is produced by the operation of winding "at the same time several of the cocoons on a common reel, thereby forming one smooth even thread. When the skein is dry, it is taken from the reel, and made up into hanks; but before it is fit for weaving, and in order to enable it to undergo the process of dyeing, without furring up or separating the fibres, it is converted into one of three forms—namely, *singles, tram,* or *organzine.* Singles (a collective noun) is formed of one of the reeled threads being twisted, in order to give it strength and firmness. Tram is formed of two or more threads twisted together. In this state it is commonly used in weaving as the shoot or weft. Thrown silk is formed of two or three or more singles, according to the substance required, being twisted together in a contrary direction to that in which the singles, of which it is composed, are twisted. This process is termed *organzining,* and the silk so twisted *organzine.*" [†]

There is a material of silk export called "'waste cocoons'—that is, the cocoons after having had all the serviceable silk reeled from them. Within the last year or two these (which were before thrown away as worthless) have been shipped to Manchester in considerable quantities, where they have fetched 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per pound. They are 'carded,' and made into silken thread used for the lower description of silk goods." [‡]

In the northern parts of China, especially in elevated situations, bird-skins are used for shoes and other articles of clothing, and the carcasses are, strange as it may appear, used for fuel. The feathers of the Argus pheasant (*Argus giganteus*), supposed to be found only in the Malayan peninsula and Sumatra, but which is also a native of China, are much in request for ornament, the wing and tail furnishing beautiful specimens. "Peacock feathers were at one time employed by Canton manufacturers in making variegated threads, which were used in forming beautiful capes for females. Permission to wear the peacock's feather in the cap in China is, like the

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[*] Catalogue of the Collection of Animal Products in the South Kensington Museum.

[*] Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851.

[†] Ibid.

[‡] Catalogue of the Collection of Animal Products in the South Kensington Museum.

European orders, always specially granted to the individual wearer." Marabout feathers, which are chiefly obtained from the marabout crane in Cochin-China, are also an article of production and commerce in the Chinese empire. The feathers of the silver pheasant are carefully collected, and exported to Europe and America for fly-fishing and ornamental work generally. The feathers of the golden pheasant, which are perhaps more beautiful than those of any other bird except the peacock and bird of paradise, are also exported to Europe and America for fly-fishing. The feathers of the common Chinese fowl are also carefully collected for various purposes of home use and export.

"The Chinese manufacture beads of various kinds, fish-counters, &c., from the mother-of-pearl shells, in a far superior manner to that of artists in Europe. Three sorts of beads are made there—one perfectly round, the second not quite round, and the other cut; and they are tied up into bunches of one hundred strings, each string containing a hundred beads. The fish-counters are cut into various shapes—round, oval, and oblong, and are usually sold in sets of about a hundred and forty pieces. Various species of *placuna*, being thin and semi-transparent, are used in parts of China for glazing windows in junks and on shore, and for lanterns, as horn is used here. The Chinese also use the powder of this shell for silver in their water-colour drawings." [*]

The Chinese create artificial pearls, by introducing small pieces of wood, wire, and baked earth into the pearl mussel. [†] These, by irritating the animal, cause it to cover the substance with a pearly secretion. Little figures, made of wood, are frequently introduced in this manner, and when covered with the pearly deposit are used by the people as charms. [‡] In this manner pearl-covered figures of Buddha are obtained, the nacreous deposit being so laid upon the image as to make it an object of beauty. [§] These figures generally represent the great sectary in a sitting posture. These are treasured by the people, or exported to Birmah, Siam, Singapore, Tenesserim, Pegu, and even to Ceylon, where the great pearl fisheries are. The large snail pearl-shell of Singapore (*Turbo marmoratus*) is much sought after by the Chinese there, and sent to China, where it is highly valued, and is sent thence to other countries. The pearl-white oyster-shell (*Meleagrina Margaritifera*), in its natural state, as brought home from China, may be seen among the specimens of shells and marine products in the Museum of the Commissioners of Art.[*] This shell is used in a great variety of ways in the manufactures of China.

Beeswax is a commodity produced in China in increasing quantities.

The musk-deer is hunted in Thibet, for the sake of the musk, which is brought down to China proper, and thence exported, but only in small quantities, the animal not being common in Eastern Asia.

It is a general impression in England amongst all classes, exclusive of merchants and men of science, that, with the exception of tea and silk, China produces very little that is fit for commerce or conducive to luxury among her own people. A more intimate acquaintance with her productions, soil, climate, and the industry of her people, will dispel this impression. Her selfish policy, as regards intercourse with other nations, leaves many of her natural products which are adapted to commerce imperfectly developed, and the existence of many materials which contribute to taste or luxury among her own people are now only beginning to be known in Europe. The commerce carried on by the Chinese of Singapore is tending to display the resources of the Chinese empire; and were trade and intercourse perfectly free, China would export many valuable materials almost at present unknown to commerce, or only known in a limited degree.

The territorial divisions of China have varied very much. In reference to this a well-known authority has remarked :—"The scientific skill of the Jesuit missionaries accomplished a survey of the whole of this fine country on trigonometrical principles, so admirably correct as to admit of little improvement; and, with the exception of the British possessions in India, there is no part of Asia so well laid down as China. Since the time of the Jesuits' survey, however, an alteration has taken place in the divisions of the country. The provinces of China, which then consisted of *fifteen* in all, have been increased, by the subdivision of three of the largest, to *eighteen*. Keang-nân has been split into Keang-soo and Gân-hoey, Hoo-kuâng into Hoo-nân and Hoo-pe, and the western part of Shen-sy has been extended, and called Kân-so. These eighteen provinces constitute a compact area, extending (if we leave out the island of Haenân) from about 21° to 41° of north latitude, and measuring in extreme length from north to south about twelve thousand geographical miles, with an average breadth from east to west of nearly 20° of longitude, or something less than the extent north and south."[*]

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[*] Specimens, South Kensington Museum.

[†] Edgar A. Bowring, Esq.; Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, Drawing by Professor Quekett.

[‡] Sir John Bowring.

[§] Dr. M'Gowan, of Ningpo.

[*] Class II., Animal Products, Division 4.

The present arrangement of provinces is thus given :—

THE NORTHERN PROVINCE.—Chi-le; Shan-tung; Shan-see; Honan.
THE EASTERN PROVINCE.—Keangsoo; Gangwhuy; Keangsee; Chekeang; Fukeen.
THE WESTERN PROVINCE.—Shense; Kanseh; Szechaen.
THE MIDDLE PROVINCE.—Hoopee; Hoonau.
THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.—Kwangtang; Kwangse; Yanau; Kweichow.[†]

Another arrangement of the provinces into maritime and inland presents the following :—

MARITIME PROVINCES.

	Cities and Towns.
Pe-chee-lee	Peking.
Shan-tung	Tsi-nan-foo.
Kiang-su	Nanking, Shang-hae.
Tche-kiang	Hang-choo-foo, Ning-po.
Fo-kien	Foo-choo-foo, Amoy.
Quang-tung	Canton, Macao.

INLAND PROVINCES.

Shan-see	Tai-yuen-foo.
Shen-see	Si-ngan-foo.
Kan-su	Lan-tchou.
Ho-nan	Kai-fong-foo.
Gan-hway	Ngan-king-foo.
Hoo-pee	Woo-tchang-foo.
Hoo-nan	Tchang-cha-foo.
Kiang-see	Nan-tchang-foo.
Quang-see	Kwei-ling-foo.
Kwei-chew	Kwei-yang-foo.
Yun-nan	Yun-nan-foo.
See-tchuen	Tching-too-foo.[‡]

The climate is on the whole more temperate than any equal area in Asia, and in some portions it is very equable and agreeable. It is remarkable, however, for the low temperature that prevails during winter, particularly along the coast, in latitudes in which in other parts of Asia or Europe such severity is unknown. Pekin is more southerly than Naples, yet frost prevails for three or four months every year. Nankin is nearly on the same line of latitude as the mouth of the Nile, but during the winter months in the latter region the most genial weather prevails, while at the former there is severe frost. Canton is under the tropic of Cancer, and the summer heat is very oppressive, but there is generally frost in January, and occasionally falls of snow have been known there at that season. The climate on the coasts very much resembles that on the seaboard of the United States. Situated on the eastern sides of great continents, both regions are liable to extremes of cold and heat at opposite seasons, particularly the former, as compared with the same latitudes in other parts of the same continents. The heat at Canton, which is on nearly the same line of latitude as Calcutta, is not much greater, if at all greater, than in that place, but the thermometer never falls below the freezing-point in the metropolis of India, whereas it nearly always does so during winter at Canton.

Before noticing the vast extent of country beyond China proper, it is suitable to consider those peculiarities of the empire which are more especially characteristic of China properly so-called.

The two great works of the Chinese are the Great Wall and the Grand Canal. The wall extends from a fort in the Gulf of Pe-chee-lee westward along the southern frontier, a space of fifteen hundred miles, over mountains, ravines, valleys, rivers, and plains. It is a great earth rampart, admitting of a carriage or several horsemen abreast to pass along the top. It was originally cased with stone and brick, but these have become dilapidated. This wall is of very unequal height. On the mountains it frequently does not exceed ten feet; in the valleys it rises to the height of thirty feet, and is there flanked with numerous redoubts, or projections resembling such. There are gates at intervals for convenience of ingress and egress, such as may be allowed, and also for the purpose of levying duties of transit. It was once a formidable barrier to the predatory Tartars, but is now badly guarded, and the smugglers have made breaches in many places, which no attempt has been made to repair.

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[*] *The Chinese: a General Description of China and its Inhabitants.* By John Francis Davis, F.R.S., Governor of Hong-Kong.

This measurement differs somewhat from the more recent and accurate estimates which we give, but this authority is more generally relied upon.

[†] The Rev. Thomas Phillips.

[‡] The Rev. Thomas Milner.

It will be observed by the reader that these authorities spell the names of places differently; it is impossible to find any two authors who agree entirely in the spelling of Chinese words. This circumstance also exists in reference to Hindoo terms, but to a still greater degree in Chinese. The author of this work will use quotations as he finds them, and adopt for himself the most usual and best known modes of writing names of places and things. It will assist the reader to inform him that, according to Milner, the following descriptive terms are of common occurrence in the geography of China :—

Pe, north; *nan*, south; *tung*, east; *see*, west. Hence, with *king*, court, we have Pe-king, the north-court; Nan-king, the south-court; Tung-king, the east-court;—as having been, at different periods, imperial residences.

Shan, mountain. Thian Chan, or Shan, the Celestial Mountains; Shan-tung, east of the mountains; Shan-see, west of the mountains.

Hoo, lake. Hoo-nan, south of the lake.

Ho, river, and *kiang*, river. Hoang-ho, yellow-river; Si-kiang, pearl-river; Yang-tse-kiang, river of the son of the ocean.

The provinces are distributed into three classes, denominated *foo*, *chew*, and *hien*, terms of rank. Their capitals are denoted in like manner—those which have *foo* appended to their names being cities of the first rank; *chew*, of the second; and *hien*, of the third.

The Grand Canal extends from Hang-choo-foo in the south, to near Lin-chin in the north, where it joins a river-system connected with the capital, its whole course being seven hundred miles, with an ordinary width of two hundred feet. Much praise has been bestowed in Europe upon the engineering skill exhibited in this construction, but there does not seem to be any warrant for regarding it in that light. It is formed in a level country, which was composed chiefly of loam, and other light soil; no engineering difficulties of any kind were presented. The amount of labour employed was of course great, and the utility of the work was beyond question, as it opened up an inland navigation where the country was without rivers, or possessing rivers not navigable. Davis, however, commends the engineering skill displayed in choosing a line of country so free from difficulties. It does not, however, appear that even this encomium is deserved, for it required nothing beyond commonplace observation to perceive the portions of the country requiring such a channel of inland commerce, and which afforded the greatest facilities for cutting a canal. The untiring industry of the people in producing this great work merits all commendation. Mr. Davis declares that no moral revolution could effect such a change in China as the introduction of the Roman Catholic calendar, for they have no saints' days, although many saints, and no holidays, on any pretext or reason, in China. The most recent accounts of the Chinese which have been received in this country are those contained in the letters of the special correspondent of the *Times*, and his representations of the untiring and energetic industry of the Chinese along the Imperial Canal will enable us to account for the perseverance with which that work was brought to a completion. The "special correspondent" thus describes the habits of the rural and village population :—"Again we were in the country, among the mulberry-trees and the rice-fields, the patches of tobacco, the sepulchral mounds, with their waving banners of high reeds, the gourds trellised on bamboo framework, and the agricultural population all at work—men and women, with equal energy, treading at their irrigation wheels. Here is the secret of the fertility of this great delta: every hundred yards a little family treadwheel, with its line of tiny buckets, is erected over the canal, and the water is thrown up to refresh the mulberry-trees or mature the rice. When the Arabs learn to labour like this, the plain of the Metidja may become as productive as this delta of "the two rivers. We must have passed ten thousand people to-day engaged in this irrigation process."

The ingenuity of the inland fishermen, the industry of the gardeners, the energy of the boatmen, and the depressing effect upon all these important qualities which is created by the oppressive government of the emperor, and the necessary political discontent of the people, are graphically shown in the following extract from the same writer :—"At Keashin, however, we leave that network of canals which, although over fifty yards broad, are now narrowed to a channel by light bamboo partitions on each side. The enclosed side-water is hired and cultivated as ling gardens, a water-loving root, which the English call 'buffalo head,' and which the Chinese much affect. Worse, however, than the ling gardens, the huge hulks of the imperial grain junks encumber these small canals. Since the rebels have been established at Nankin the inland communication has been stopped, and the food of Pekin goes round by sea. Many hundreds, therefore, of these junks have become useless. They are rotting in all directions, filling up the channels—some above water, some below, all of them in decay. They must not be broken up, or sold, or burnt,—they are imperial property. At Keashin we enter upon the Imperial Canal. Between the carefully-piled banks of this noble river—for it is as wide as the Thames at Kew—we journey for three days, passing, and sometimes tarrying at, villages, and towns, and cities. It is the country, however, which is most interesting.

> "'God made the country, and man made the town,'

may be true in England, but here man has as much to do in making the country as in making the city. There is no lack of objects as we passed up, towed by these hardy boatmen. The irrigation wheels are constantly going, men and women working under their awning of mats. The junks and boats are never ceasing—who shall number the vehicles for water-carriage which China possesses. The fisherman, with his flock of fishing cormorants perched on his punt, or swimming after him, is passing up under the bank, and I notice that if a cormorant gets a large fish which he cannot swallow he takes it to the punt, and receives something to devour instead."

The city, population, and its habits of industry along the line of the canal, may be judged by a single specimen from the same writer:—"Although but a third-class city, we were at least an hour passing through Kiahing. There are extensive stores of that thick pottery ware used at Shanghai for baths and coarser utensils, much of it well ornamented. There are large carpenters' shops, containing the simple silk-winding machine of the Chinese, in every stage of completion. We are now far advanced into the silk district. There is a large establishment for crushing seeds and making oil. We land to inspect it, and the proprietor is polite and explanatory. There are tea-shops overhanging the water, and the customers, naked to the waist, are lounging and smoking, and sipping from their little cups a weak infusion, without milk or sugar. Then there is a break in the continuity of habitations—a rick of rice-straw and a grove of mulberry-trees—not large round-topped trees, such as we see in France and Italy, but trees free to grow as nature pleases, and bearing their leaves down to the bottom of their stems. Of the millions of mulberry-trees I have seen in this part every one has a good healthy foliage, and not one has been stripped in the manner I have somewhere seen described. Passing this great agricultural interval, we again immerge into the city. We seem now to be in a district of merely domestic dwellings. The enormous signboards, covered with gigantic Chinese characters, are less frequent. There is a fat Chinawoman and her pretty little round plump daughter hanging out clothes in a very small number of square inches of drying-ground under the eaves of their cottage. In another building there is a solitary damsel employed upon her embroidery; and in another a palm-leaf fan is being used to drive the mosquitoes out of the curtains. The little domesticities of life are going on while the men are at business. Throughout the whole extent of Kiahing, and of every other city in this neighbourhood, there are well-finished quays of faced granite, having at every twenty yards broad stone stairs down into the water; upon these the long-tailed race, both men and children, stand and fish. Some of the stores are very extensive, run a long way back, and are divided from their neighbours by thick and high party-walls; but the houses are all built to the same pattern—a garret above a shop, a slanting roof of tiles, and projecting eaves over both the shop and the garret. This is the unvarying form. Signboards with immense characters, the presence or absence of flowerpots and casements, and the various characters of the commodities for sale, constitute the only difference. We entered Kiahing through an archway in the wall, and quitted it through a similar aperture. There is no difference between the city and the suburb, except that inside the walls the canals are narrower."

Perhaps no living European has accomplished the navigation of the Imperial Canal to its remote inland termination, except the gentleman from whom these quotations have been made. In the following extract he records his arrival at that particular spot—the city of Hangchow (or Hangwhau), as it is generally called. It appears from his narrative, that but for some peculiar policy of the government, the navigation of that great artery of inland trade could be further extended, as at Hangchow there is a large navigable river, to which it is necessary for passengers to transfer their cargoes and themselves. The extract also refers to some important commercial facts which, although more strictly belonging to a future chapter on our oriental commerce, illustrate here the locality, the jealousy of the government, and the facilities already opening to personal visitation, where commercial operations are still fettered. The feat accomplished by the enterprising correspondent of the *Times* and his associates—if his European friends penetrated so far who accompanied him in the earlier part of the expedition—is one full of interest to the European world, and more especially those who are not moved by curiosity merely, but are anxious for the opening up of China to commerce, civilization, and religious instruction. The information contained in the letter was afforded from Hangchow so late as the 22nd of August, 1857:—

"The irrigation wheel has now entirely given way to the wharf. The banks on either side are as the banks of the Thames when the river reaches the city's eastern suburb. High above roofs and masts rise two lofty poles, whose cross-bars show them to be ensigns of official authority. They stand before a large public edifice. In China all public edifices are of the same pattern; josshouses and palaces and public offices might, and very frequently do, interchange their purposes without much alteration. The building before us has the usual double tier of shelving roofs with upturned corners, as though the original designer of this style had taken the prows of four Greek galleys and put them together, with their rostra facing to the four cardinal points. It also has a very extensive gallery, which comes out on piles into the canal, and is roofed and ornamented in proper official style, and crowded with Chinese officials. This building is the celebrated 'Psin Kwan,' or 'Ta Kwan'—the 'new' or the 'great' custom-house. This is the foe of Manchester and Leeds, and Nottingham and Sheffield. This is the first lock in the ascending water-way. Here British calicoes get their first lift, to be still further lifted at very short stages. There is no escape. Here the Imperial Canal ends. There are small feeders which come down from places in the neighbourhood, but here the navigation ceases. There is a magnificent navigable river, which rolls on the other side of the city, but with this the Imperial Canal has no connection. Such is the imperial policy: here at Hangchow everything must be trans-shipped.

"We pulled up at the custom-house, and I prepared for the rigorous search which must take place. I was determined to solve this mystery of the differential duties. I had a a piece of printed calico and a packet of clasp knives, and also some of my Chinese clothing, not yet worn, on the table before me. I was fully resolved to have a considerable discussion over the payment of these things. After a few moments, a man, something between the coolie and comprador class, and without even the small pyramidal official straw hat, put his head into the boat and said, as plain as unintelligible words and significant gesture could speak, 'That will do; go on.'—'But tell him,' roared I to A'yu, 'that I have duties to pay.'—'He talkee all right.'—'Tell him these boxes are all full of salt, and the boat is full of contraband goods.'—'He talkee no mindee.'—'Tell him we haven't paid the boat toll.'—'He talkee bamboo boatee man.' At this hint we were at once propelled from the shore, and I was left with my British produce to mourn over the fallibility of the best laid schemes. It was quite evident now that the officials were determined to ignore our presence. I knew there was a toll that would amount to nearly a dollar each on our boats; they refused, however, to take it from us. They allow us now to pass the custom-house unquestioned. They are clearly treating the three Englishmen as Dogberry thought it best to treat rogues. Now I began to make frantic inquiries from Chinamen about the matter I had intended to settle myself. I am told that at this 'Ta Kwan' they take fifteen cash, or about three-halfpence, for a piece of China cloth, and four hundred cash, or three shillings, for English. A Chinaman will always give you an answer, and it will generally be the first phrase that comes into his head. I paid little attention to this assertion, and should not have repeated it, but that it seems to accord with my subsequent experience. Shanghai is full of English goods; at Keahing and Keashun I saw some English 'domestics:' but after we had passed the 'Ta Kwan' I never saw anything English exhibited for sale, except English sewing-cotton, which had penetrated even to the primitive city of Peh Kwan. It may be that the duties on English goods are as heavy as my Chinese informant says, but I must admit that I do not think the testimony worth much."

The architectural works of China are not of great magnitude: the European factories at Canton were probably the best buildings in the empire. Chinese architecture is not remarkable for taste—it is quaint, peculiar, and original, characterised by strange antithetical features. It is supposed that the people derived the idea of the shape of their roofs from the use of the tent in their primitive pastoral condition. Whatever the purpose for which a Chinese building is designed, the roof obtains something of the catenary curve which a rope assumes when suspended between two poles, and which therefore forms the contour of a tent.* The want of solidity, characteristic of Chinese buildings, may be traced to the same origin. The bridges are the best specimens of Chinese architecture, many of them being constructed with great ingenuity. The arch was known to the Chinese before the Greeks and Romans understood its principle.

Military buildings are not numerous; they are rudely strong. The best specimens were the forts which protected the entrance to the Canton River, but which have been battered by the British ships-of-war during the various contests with the Cantonese. Garden pavilions are frequently picturesque. Gateways, either honorary or monumental, are common in China; and these sometimes have considerable architectural pretensions. The tall towers, or pagodas, look pretty in perspective.

The Chinese science of medicine resembles very much that of the island of Ceylon—a mixture of astrology, botany, chemistry, and Buddhist superstition. The drug-shops contain large assortments of simples; gums and minerals also enter into the pharmacopœia. Ginsen and tea are prescribed in various ways; virtues are attributed to tea especially, which are unknown or not appreciated in Europe.† The medical practitioners have no knowledge of anatomy. Phrenology is a favourite study with them, and with the more intelligent Chinese generally. They have a saying, that a man may be known by his forehead, and a woman by the back part of her head.

* Barrow

† Dr. Abel.

The diseases which most commonly afflict the people are fever, ague, dysentery, cholera, bilious complaints of all kinds, pulmonary disorders along the eastern coasts, small-pox, which carries off large numbers of the population, except where vaccination has been introduced by the surgeons of the East India Company. Cutaneous diseases of many kinds are common; one of which, produced by animalcula, is very irritating and peculiar, but is removed by a native preparation of mercury applied as an ointment.

In geometry and numbers the Chinese are deficient, and are indebted for the little knowledge they have to Europeans. Their fractions are decimals, except in the common pound weight of the market, which, like our own, is divided into half-pounds, quarters, and ounces.

Their geographical knowledge is entirely derived from Europeans. By the native geographers China is represented as the great central land, and other nations as small spots clustered around it. The proofs afforded to them, during the present century, of the superior power of European nations, and the extension of the British empire in the East, has somewhat stimulated their curiosity, and caused their educated men to consult geographical works and maps.

The science of astronomy is not cultivated, or understood, although the Chinese are very attentive observers of the heavens. There is an *Imperial Almanac* published at Pekin, and the penalty of death is visited upon any persons who either alter or imitate it.

In simple but ingenious machinery they surpass all other oriental people.

Their music is very primitive; their instruments, chiefly lutes and guitars of various sorts, are very numerous. They have a squeaking fiddle of three strings, to which they are partial, and a bagpipe similar to that of Scotland, which is an instrument much in favour. A concert of these instruments is a discordant affair to European ears, but to the Chinese is a source of intense gratification.

Their ornamental gardening is very peculiar, and perhaps there is no other art in which they excel to so great a degree. A gentleman who resided at Pekin, in a magnificent pleasure-ground belonging to the emperor, and who had ample opportunities for studying the habits and tastes of the people in this respect, thus depicts their talent for this pleasing art:—

"The grand and agreeable parts of nature," he observes, "were separated, connected, or arranged, in so judicious a manner as to compose one whole, in which there was no inconsistency or unmeaning jumble of objects; but such an order and proportion as generally prevail in scenes entirely natural. No round or oval, square or oblong lawns, with the grass shorn off close to the roots, were to be found anywhere in those grounds. The Chinese are particularly expert in magnifying the real dimensions of a piece of land, by a proper distribution of the objects intended to embellish its surface; for this purpose tall and luxurious trees of the deepest green were planted in the foreground, from whence the view was to be taken; whilst those in the distance gradually diminished in size and depth of colouring; and in general the ground was terminated by broken and irregular clumps of trees, whose foliage varied, as well by the different species of trees in the group as by the different times of the year in which they were in vigour; and oftentimes the vegetation was apparently old and stunted, making with difficulty its way through the clefts of rocks, either originally found, or designedly collected upon the spot. The effect of intricacy and concealment seemed also to be well understood by the Chinese. At Yuen-min-yuen a slight wall was made to convey the idea of a magnificent building, when seen at a certain distance through the branches of a thicket. Sheets of made water, instead of being surrounded by sloping banks, like the glacis of a fortification, were occasionally hemmed in by artificial rocks, seemingly indigenous to the soil. The only circumstance which militated against the picturesque in the landscape of the Chinese was the formal shape and glaring colouring of their buildings. Their undulating roofs are, however, an exception to the first part of the charge, and their projection throws a softening shadow upon the supporting colonnade. Some of those high towers which Europeans call pagodas are well adapted objects for vistas, and are accordingly, for the most part, placed on elevated situations." *

In painting the Chinese are not so deficient as they have been generally supposed to be by Europeans. They are bad landscape painters, being unacquainted with the rules of perspective, although in their landscape gardening so skilful in obtaining its effect. Where perspective, general combination, and imagination are not required, they can draw well: their colours are exquisitely brilliant, and they can delineate figure. Birds, beasts, insects, and fishes are well painted by them; yet they do not succeed in drawing the human figure and face either with the crayon or the pencil. They are capable of taking grotesque sketches, and caricatures in which much ideality is not requisite, but where the merit consists in a truthful yet humorous delineation of an odd circumstance, or association, or a person of eccentric habits and appearance. They will sometimes "take off" an obnoxious European in a manner more truthful than flattering.

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* Barrow.

They are not sculptors, but with plastic material they model beautifully, where anatomical proportion is not an essential: their modellings of drapery are very excellent.

Their taste in carving woods and ivory, especially the latter, is well known in Europe. Beautiful snuff boxes of agate and rock-crystal are also carved. The ingenuity of the Chinese in working metals is surpassed by no eastern people, except in the precious metals, wherein the Bengalees surpass them. The art of printing existed in China many ages before its discovery in Europe.

Gunpowder (*fire-drug*, as the Chinese call it) was known in China long before Europeans were acquainted with it; but there is no proof that it was ever used for purposes of war. In pyrotechnic displays it seems alone to have been employed, until it was perceived that the western nations used it as a means of destruction.

The magnetic compass was undoubtedly a Chinese discovery, yet they have not profited by it in navigation. Their voyages have seldom extended farther than India, and at present the remotest voyage is Java or the Malay Isles. Instances have occurred of very long voyages in Chinese junks, and, as a case in point, one lately arrived in the Thames; these trips are, however, so purely exceptional, that the limits above named as the bounds of Chinese naval enterprise are exact. According to the celebrated missionary Gutzlaff, the prejudices of the Chinese against all improvements copied from barbarians must ever impede their progress in ship-building, or in attaining to an effective commercial or warlike marine. Mr. Davis (the late governor of Hong-Kong) is of a different opinion, and attributes to the jealous policy of the government the chief difficulty in the way of progress in navigation. The politician, in this instance, has probably formed a clearer view than the divine. The Chinese have copied Europeans in so many improvements, that there is no reason to suppose that they would be indifferent to the example set them in this respect. The Siamese have already followed European models in the structure of coasting vessels, and the Chinese have observed the fact with some feeling of envy. Various inventions attributed to the Chinese, and several attainments in science set down to the credit of their genius, are due to their intercourse with Europeans. The Jesuits, in this respect, conferred upon China many advantages, and the people have appreciated it more readily and completely than has been understood in Europe. It is to this ready and apt appreciation of what has been taught them by others, that we are to ascribe the knowledge which, in so many respects, it has become the fashion in Europe to attribute to their originality.

The religious and moral condition of the Chinese has of late years become a subject of benevolent inquiry and consideration amongst the Christian people of Great Britain. The vast mass of the Chinese people are Buddhists. In the chapter devoted to the religions of India, reference was made to this system as exemplified there. In the account given of the Island of Ceylon, further light was thrown upon it. Another page will afford a description of the moral and religious condition of Thibet, and give an opportunity of still further illustrating the character and effects of this system. Under the name of Buddhists, however, the great majority of the people of China are really atheists, "without God, and without hope in the world." Having been already so fully described, it is not necessary here to add anything to the notices of the Buddhist religion, or, as it may be more properly designated, philosophy,

Buddhism is not, however, the only religious system known in China, as is commonly in England supposed to be the case. Many of the Chinese are heathens, who pay little or no attention to Buddha, but worship whatever deity seems to become most familiarly a candidate for their homage. The vast numbers of Chinese who live on the sea, and are engaged in navigation, worship the Chinese sea-goddess, "the queen of heaven." The sailors of the celestial empire are perhaps the most profligate and ignorant portion of its population, and less capable of entering into the abstruse refinements of the Buddhist philosophy: accordingly, among other tangible deities, they especially worship the mariner's compass. Offerings of gilt paper, such as the devotees of Buddha burn on shore before the huge images of their temples, are at sea offered to the compass with a heartier devotion.*

The cultivated classes in China adopt the philosophy of Confucius as their creed; the middle and lower classes are Buddhists; the dregs of society are mere idolaters: but in every class, and under whatever sectarian designation, there is a large leaven of atheism.

It is not generally known in Europe that China has many followers of "the Prophet." During the Mongul dynasty, founded by

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* Gutzlaff.

Kohlai Khan, the Mohammedans were numerous. They are distinguished by wearing a pointed cap. It is common for them to pursue the calling of mutton and beef butchers—a vocation utterly abhorrent to the consciences of the Buddhists. There is another small sect, that of Taou, or Laon-keun (the title of the founder). This sect seems to have originally corresponded with the Epicureans of the Greeks. The founder was a contemporary of Confucius, and at certain periods of Chinese history the sect obtained very great credit. They have now become few in number, and have sunk into mere soothsayers and quacks; there are, however, a few places in the interior where numbers flock to them—not so much as religious disciples as to have their fortunes told.

There are many Roman Catholics in China; some have computed them at eight hundred thousand, and others have alleged that a million is more near the truth. So conflicting are the statements, and with so much acrimony are they made, that it is impossible to arrive at any fair and unbiassed conclusion. The Jesuit missionaries have laboured long and zealously in China, and many of the natives embraced their opinions.

Protestant missionaries, sent out by various nations, especially by Great Britain and America, have long laboured in China, and with more or less success. The estimates made of the labours of these men have been very contradictory: one class of witnesses declaring that they had done no good, and never could reasonably hope to do any, while another has described them as having, by their most laborious perseverance in acquiring the language, translating the Scriptures, writing religious tracts and books, and by personal labours and preachings, accomplished much good, which, if not seen in numerous converts, has not been without evidences; while the discerning can perceive that a good foundation is laid for the extension of the gospel in China. The best authority we have, whose testimony is at all striking, while personally respectful to the missionaries, is very decided against their success:—"One word upon a subject to which I shall probably not have occasion to recur. I have sometimes spoken untenderly of topics much cherished by some of our Protestant missionaries. There is, however, no subscriber to the various bodies which send preachers forth who thinks more highly of the usefulness of these men than I do. I will not say that they are making sincere Chinese Christians,—those who say this must be either governed by a delusion or guilty of a fraud,—but they are doing the work which, if China is ever to become Christianised, must precede its conversion. They live among the Chinese people, they speak their language, they are known to them by deeds of charity and beneficence; their wives are the friends of the poor, friendless, Chinese women; their children prattle to the natives in their own tongue, and are the messengers of their parents in little offices of love. The merchants in China are almost universally large-hearted and benevolent men; they will give largely, but they have not either time or taste for such offices as these; nor would the wildest philanthropist expect it from them. Yet this must be done by somebody if China is to be opened. Even if I had no hope that the cold speculative systems of Laotze, Confucius, and Buddha could be overthrown—that those palaces of ice should some day melt before the fervid quickening fire of true religion, still I would say plant missionary establishments in China; but remember always that a fool, a bigot, or a firebrand can do more evil than ten good men can repair."

The spirit and general character of these remarks are commendable; but it is curious how frequently travellers and correspondents of the London and New York press record their convictions, or write letters, warning the public of Europe and America that the particular countries which they visit, and where missionaries labour, are not immediately converted, and that representations of missionary success are not to be credited. No such false representations exist; where the mission-field has been productive, that fact is thankfully recorded in the reports of the various successful societies, and in the minutes of their committees; where the soil has proved sterile, that fact is recorded with equal fidelity. It is not necessary for special correspondents and travellers who fly through regions where the agents of religious societies labour, to tell us that there is no success; for where that is the fact, the constituencies of the societies whose agents labour there, know it very well themselves: frequently there has been much good done, and very many converts have been silently gathered, where these cursory observers and imperfectly-informed critics have seen and learned nothing of those achievements. Instances have occurred of sanguine missionaries saying more for their own labours, or those of their fellows, than facts justified; but these cases have been exceptions. The efforts of Protestant missionaries in China have not been successful in proportion to the expenditure of means, and the number of men employed; but nevertheless much good has been done, and in the way the writer just quoted admits.

The Congregational or Independent churches of Great Britain and Ireland have the honour of having first embarked upon the stupendous enterprise of Chinese missions. A body possessing so great a number of eminently learned and gifted ministers was especially adapted to the task. The London Missionary Society, which the body sustains, sent out Robert Morrison half a century ago: six years later he was followed by William Milne. By the joint labours of these extraordinarily patient, painstaking, and devoted men, the entire Scriptures were translated into the Chinese language, as Doctors Morrison and Milne became distinguished Chinese scholars. Both have long since entered upon their rest, after a life of honour and usefulness, and of much intellectual renown. China continuing closed against *the preaching* of missionaries, the society planted their agents at Java, Penang, Singapore, and Malacca. At these outposts the heroic men waited the hour when Providence would open the gates of China to their ingress. In the year 1842, after the war, "the five ports were opened," and the London Missionary Society occupied the ground—no other religious body having then possessed the requisite number of men learned in the languages spoken upon the shores of the eastern seas. At each of the five ports there is a Congregational church, composed of native converts, notwithstanding the inability of the *Times*' correspondent to discover them. At Hong-Kong, the learned and talented Dr. Legge, and the medical missionary, Hershberg, have laboured; at Canton, Dr. Hobson; at Shanghai, Rev. Dr. Medhurst, W. Lockhart, M.D., Rev. W. C. Milne (now resident in England, and author of an interesting work on China); at Amoy the learned and laborious brothers Stronach took up their stations. The eminent men thus placed in the principal cities were supported by assistants, clerical and lay. The American Congregationalists came to the assistance of their English brethren. They sent Dr. Bridgeman, Dr. Ball, and the Rev. Daniel Vrooman to Canton, where a body of eight native Christians were organised as their assistants; at Amoy two ministers and three native assistants were placed. No less than six Congregational clergymen from the American board took up their residence at Fouchow. Dr. Medhurst and Dr. Legge, clergymen from the English Congregationalists, made great acquisition in Chinese learning, and contributed to the store of sacred literature, so important to other missionaries who shall succeed them. Dr. Medhurst, full of honours and usefulness, laid down his body and his charge together only a short time since.

The labours of Dr. Charles Gutzlaff, of the Dutch church, are also well known. Having pursued his mission in Siam and the Malayan peninsula, he finally directed his efforts to China, and formed what is called the "Chinese Christian Union," for the purpose of religious teaching, and the distribution of religious books and tracts, especially the Bible and portions of the Bible. The constitution of the Union, and its performances, will be best understood by the following extract:—"This institution was formed in the year 1844, in the first instance for the evangelisation of the Kwang-tung province, and subsequently extended its aim to the whole empire. In the same year there were 262 baptised members of the society, who, on their reception, pledged themselves to make it a personal endeavour to advance the cause of Christ among their countrymen. Of this number about nine were engaged as preachers. It gradually increased from year to year, till, in 1847, it numbered 1606 members, of whom 64 were preachers, and in the year 1849 about 3000 members, including 130 native preachers. The Union had, in its lists of publications, about twenty-four books and tracts, some of considerable length, and, added to this list, Dr. Gutzlaff's Old and New Testaments. It professed at this time to have its preachers in nearly all the provinces of China; and, doubtless, with every allowance for much deception, it must have extended, by the oral and written medium, a considerable amount of Christian knowledge, to say the least, over a large portion of southern China. The larger number were spread over Kwang-tung and Kwangsi, and their converts were principally gathered from thence."

The American Episcopal Church has a staff of missionaries in China. Dr. Boone went to Batavia in 1837, and removed to Amoy in 1842, when it was opened to foreigners by the British treaty. On his revisiting America, in 1844, he was consecrated a bishop of the American Episcopal Church, and, returning to China, assumed the superintendence of the American Episcopal Mission, residing at Shanghai. The American Baptist Board commenced its labours for China in 1834; they occupied the outpost of Singapore, but in 1845 directed their labours to Canton. The American General Assembly's board (Presbyterian) sent several missionaries to China soon after the ports were opened. The English Church Missionary Society quickly followed those already named, who took advantage of the opening of the ports, and has at a recent period established efficient missions at Shan-

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ghai, Fouchow, and Ningpo. In 1850 the Chinese Evangelization Society, unconnected with any particular church, was formed. It has a few missionaries stationed at Soi-heong. In the same year the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society sent out three missionaries, chiefly through the liberality of an individual—its treasurer. The Rheinish Mission, and the Basle Mission, at Hong-Kong, and the Swedish Mission at Fouchow, are active and useful, particularly the latter. The English Presbyterian Mission at Amoy is conducted by these missionaries. Other societies have done a little, and individuals, especially ladies, are labouring unsustained by any society. There are probably two hundred Protestant missionaries now in China, of whom the majority are Americans. The Congregationalists of England and America constitute a considerable majority of those thus engaged. The power and influence of Confucius, and the mode in which the labours of Christian missionaries are conducted in China, are alike strikingly illustrated by the following passage from the report of the London Missionary Society's mission at Shanghai:—"But though the influence of idolatry on the general mind is superficial, that of Confucianism is far otherwise. . . . . Some weeks ago a learned Chinese scholar, and a rigid disciple of Confucius, called upon Mr. Muirhead, and expressed himself very displeased at a comparison having been made between the person, character, and work of Christ and those of his venerated sage. Such a thing, said he, should not have been done by any means. Christianity is a very small affair, and the cross, though in external form extending in all directions, thus assuming that it is designed to embrace the whole world, is absurd. As to the doctrine connected with it, it can never endure the test of ages, as in the case of the Confucian. He was told that Jesus was the Son of God, that He came down from heaven for the highest, holiest, and most glorious of all purposes, whilst Confucius was only a man and a sage, like many of a similar character in all parts of the world; but at this saying he became violent in the extreme, and replied, 'If you say anything of Confucius, I assure you I would rather go to hell with him than with Jesus to heaven.' The doctrine of the cross, indeed, which was a stumbling-block to the Jew, and folly to the Greek, is both to the Chinese. They see the outward transaction, but cannot penetrate into the depths of its meaning; they behold its shame, but are blind to its glory." During three hundred years the Jesuits have laboured in China, but they never attempted to circulate the Scriptures in the vernacular. The British and Foreign Bible Society, through the media of the congregational missionaries, accomplished that work. Drs. Morrison and Milne published their Bible under the society's auspices thirty-six years ago. Dr. Morrison had previously issued portions of the book. In 1835 Drs. Medhurst and Gutzlaff, aided by Mr. Morrison (son of the great missionary), issued a Chinese New Testament, more adapted for circulation than that previously published by Drs. Morrison and Milne. In 1850 another version of the New Testament, still improved, was adopted by the Bible Society. In 1852 the society's translation of the Old Testament was completed. In 1847 the London Missionary Society sent out a cylinder printing-press to Shanghai, and towards the object had in view in so doing the Bible Society bestowed £1000. The most recent effort on a large scale was that of sending a million copies of the New Testament to China. The origin of this movement, afterwards happily accomplished, was the publication of a letter in the papers by the Rev. J. Angell James, congregational minister of Birmingham, to whom it was suggested by Thomas Thompson, Esq., of Poundisford Park, Somerset. The London Religious Tract Society has also put forth its giant hand to the help of China. Various interesting tracts have been published by that society, and vast numbers placed at the disposal of the missionaries. In this work the excellent Bishop of Victoria, who superintends the missionaries in China connected with the English Established Church has taken an appropriate and active part.

The moral condition of the people upon whom these evangelical instrumentalities are brought to bear is as unhallowed as their religious theories are erroneous. The eminent missionary who led the van of Protestant effort for this people thus expresses himself concerning them:—"The *good* traits in the Chinese character are mildness and urbanity; a wish to show that their conduct is reasonable, and generally a willingness to yield to what appears to be so; docility, industry, subordination of juniors; and respect for the aged and parents, which Confucius principally enforces. These are virtues of public opinion, which are, in particular cases, rather a *show* than a *reality*. On the other hand, the Chinese are specious, but insincere; jealous, envious, and distrustful in a high degree. There is amongst them a considerable prevalence of Sadducean and rather atheistical spirit, such as one would naturally expect from a people who feel not that sense of divine authority, nor that reverence for the divine majesty and goodness, which in sacred

Scripture is denominated 'the fear of God.' Conscience has few checks but the law of the land and a little frigid ratiocination on the fitness of things, which is seldom found effectual to restrain, when the selfish and vicious propensities of our nature may be indulged with present impunity. The Chinese are generally selfish, cold-blooded, and inhumane." * The learned divine had not acquired so much experience as has since been gleaned of their habits, or he would not have borne any testimony to their gentleness. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society, which the doctor represented, were, during the Chinese contest which is waging while these pages are going through the press, the objects of a most cowardly attempt at assassination. The ladies and children of the mission, more especially, suffered severely from the poison which their Chinese attendants insinuated into their food. The conduct of the Chinese at Canton, Hong-Kong, Singapore, and Borneo, during the period referred to, was as cruel, treacherous, and remorseless as that of the Bengal mutineers in the mutiny of 1857. In their own internecine wars they are barbarously vindictive, as the great rebellion still raging in the empire has proved on a large scale. No people treat criminals with greater severity, or inflict torture with more eagerness.

Female infanticide is another form taken by Chinese cruelty. The government carts go about the streets of Pekin to collect the dead infants cast out into the streets at night by their callous-hearted parents.† No investigation is ever instituted, but the bodies are removed to a common burial-pit outside the city. Upon this procedure the Roman Catholic missionaries have been accustomed to attend, in the hope of saving some infant in which life is not extinct, and, if possible, to restore it to health, and bring it up in their religion. The Pekin government connives at infanticide. On these occasions horrible scenes are presented. Before the carts go their rounds, the dogs and pigs of the city are let loose, and they are disturbed by these vehicles while preying upon the outcast children, some with life still in them. It is calculated that nine thousand infants perish annually in the streets of Pekin, or are murdered, and flung out to be devoured by the swine and dogs, or removed by the police carts to a common burial.‡ At Amoy "it is a general practice to drown a large proportion of the female children."§ The *Times*' correspondent, in 1857, bears a painful testimony to the horrid practice of infanticide at Shanghai:—"O Vice-consul Harvey! *doctus utriusque linguæ!* to whom the manners and the language of China are even as the manners and the language of Paris or of London, tell me what means that more than usually pestilential stench! It seems to radiate from that decaying pepper-box-shaped tower, which, although not twenty feet high, we must, by the courtesy of China, call a pagoda. Undismayed, the energetic vice-consul, who sometimes acts as guide, philosopher, and friend, and expatiates with me over this maze, advances through a vapour so thick that I wonder the Chinese do not cut it into blocks, and use it for manure, and at a distance of five yards from the building puffed hard at his cheroot, and said, 'That is the baby-tower.'—'The ——?' said I, inquiringly.—'The baby-tower. Look through that rent in the stonework—not too close, or the stream of effluvia may kill you. You see a mound of wisps of bamboo-straw? It seems to move, but it is only the crawling of the worms. Sometimes a tiny leg or arm, or a little fleshless bone, protrudes from the straw. The tower is not so full now as I have seen it; they must have cleared it out recently.'—'Is this a cemetery or a slaughterhouse?'—'The Chinese say it is only a tomb. Coffins are too dear, and the peasantry are poor. When a child dies the parents wrap it round with bamboo, throw it in at that window, and all is done. When the tower is full the proper authorities burn the heap, and spread the ashes over the land.' There is no inquiry, no check: the parent has power to kill or to save. Nature speaks in the heart of a Chinese mother as in the breast of an English matron; but want and shame sometimes speak louder still."

At Shanghai there is a foundling hospital, which, it is to be presumed, is a device of the government to check infanticide. The writer last quoted, upon whose authority we learn the fact, does not, however, say whether the institution receives female children, or, if received, whether they are preserved. "There is a foundling hospital in the Chinese city, with a cradle outside the door, and a hollow bamboo above it. Strike a blow upon the bamboo, and the cradle is drawn inside. If it contain an infant, it is taken and cared for, and no questions asked."

The cruelty of the Chinese in religious persecution is at variance with the accounts generally given of their tolerance, and in some sort a contradiction to the indifference with which they affect to regard all religious controversies. The Jesuits have been frequently exposed to great dangers, and have suffered severe injuries. The writer just referred to, describing Hangchow, remarks:—"Annals of martyrdom tell still of the massacre of eight hundred Christians at Hangchow. During the last war many of our kidnapped sailors were sent here as to a place of security, and butchered after a mock trial." During the earlier stages of the great rebellion the rebels not only demolished temples as the abodes of idols, but slew their frequenters as idolaters.

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* Dr. Morrison.

† Barrow.

‡ Barrow.

§ Dr. Gutzlaff.

Slavery is practised, and that of the worst kind, within certain limits. It would appear that the slavery into which a parent may sell his female child is some check to infanticide, and leaves the supply for "the baby-tower" less horribly abundant. "There is also a system of domestic slavery in China. At an early age a child is worth dollars (a father or mother may for money delegate their own absolute power—delegate without losing it); for although a father may have sold his son to a stranger, or although a mother may have sold her daughter to prostitution (and concubines in China are only thus to be obtained), the duty from child to parent remains unimpaired, and is strictly performed. The incentives thus offered by Mammon, and the alternative proffered by native charity, may save lives that would otherwise be destroyed. But this baby-tower is a terrible institution: it stands there, close to the walls of a crowded city, an intrusive invitation to infanticide."

The whole people are gamblers. It is strange that a race so matter-of-fact and business-like should be so, but in every situation of life, and on an infinite variety of occasions, opportunity is sought for this propensity, so destructive to the mind and the body, so ruinous to the circumstances and the character. The opium dens are the chief resorts of the gamblers; there every appurtenance for the amusement, and every convenience for gratifying the passion, exist. The following is a description of one of these dens of infamy and ruin in a great city:—

"At Ningpo," writes the special correspondent of the *Times*, "I accepted an invitation from the Rev. Mr. Russell, the Church of England missionary priest, and the Rev. Mr. Edkins, of the London Mission at Shanghai, to visit the opium dens of Ningpo city. Commander Dew, of the *Nimrod*, and several of his officers, accompanied us. I had seen the opium-eaters of Smyrna and Constantinople, and the hasheesh-smokers of Constantine, and I was prepared for emaciated forms and trembling limbs. I recollected buying a taboosh in the bazaars of Smyrna from a young Moslem, whose palsied hand and dotard head could not count the coins I offered him. I remembered the hasheesh-smokers of Constantine, who were to be seen and heard every afternoon at the bottom of that abyss which yawns under the 'Adultress's Rock,'—lean, fleshless Arabs, smoking their little pipes of hemp-seed, chanting, and swaying their skeleton forms to and fro, shrieking to the wild echoes of the chasm, then sinking exhausted under the huge cactus,—sights and sounds of saturnalia in purgatory.

"The Chinese exhibition was sufficiently disgusting, but was otherwise quite a failure. These opium dens are ordinary Chinese cottages, with a room about twelve feet square, furnished with a bed, a table, and a sofa. In the first we entered three men sat upon the bed, and two upon the sofa. There was the opium pipe, the lamp, and the small porcelain cup of treacle-looking opium. One of the customers takes the pipe and the lamp, then dips a pin into the opium, turns it round and round till he has the proper quantity of the jellified drug, inserts the pin in the pipe, applies the pipe to the flame of the lamp, and at the same time draws up the vapour by two or three long inhalations—not whiffs, for he draws it into his lungs; then he passes on the pipe, the opium being consumed, and gradually lets the vapour slowly return through his mouth and his nose.

"The members of this convivial society were good-humoured and communicative. One was a chair coolie, a second was a petty tradesman, a third was a runner in a mandarin's yamun; they were all of that class of urban population which is just above the lowest. They were, however, neither emaciated nor infirm. The chair coolie was a sturdy fellow, well capable of taking his share in the porterage of a sixteen-stone mandarin, the runner seemed well able to run, and the tradesman, who said he was thirty-eight years old (say thirty-seven, for the Chinese commence to count their age nine months earlier than we do), was remarked by all of us to be a singularly young-looking man for that age. He had smoked opium for seven years. As we passed from the opium dens we went into a Chinese tea-garden—a dirty paved court, with some small trees and flowers in flower-pots,—and a very emaciated and yawning proprietor presented himself. 'The man has destroyed himself by opium-smoking,' said Mr. Russell. The man, being questioned, declared that he had never smoked an opium pipe in his life—a bad shot, at which no one was more amused than the reverend gentleman who fired it. I only take the experiment for what it is worth. There must be very many most lamentable specimens of the effects of indulgence in this vicious practice, although we did not happen to see any of them that morning. They are not, however, so universal, nor even so common, as travellers who write in support of some thesis, or who are not above truckling to popular prejudices in England, are pleased to say they are.

"But if our visit was a failure in one respects, it was fully instructive in another. In the first house we visited no man spent on an average less than eighty cash a day on his opium pipe. One man said he spent a hundred and twenty. The chair coolie spends eighty, and his average earnings are a hundred cash a day. English physicians, unconnected with the missionary societies, have assured me that the coolie opium-smoker dies, not from opium, but from starvation. If he starves himself for his pipe, we need not ask what happens to his family. No earthly power can stop opium-smoking in China; but if the people of England are earnest in wishing to stop the English trade in it, nothing is easier than to do so by far less of self-sacrifice than the opium-smoker would be obliged to exercise. Let the old ladies give up tea, and the young ladies give up silk, and the thing is done. If the Chinese had again to pay for opium in silver they would soon grow it all at home, and look sharp after the foreign smuggler. At present the trade is as open and as unrestrained in all the cities of China as the sale of hot-cross buns on Good Friday is in the streets of London.

"The culture of opium certainly is not confined to the province of Yunnan. Any one who penetrates into the amphitheatre of mountains which bounds the Ningpo plain will see valleys upon valleys of fine rich land covered with poppies. The official reports deplore this, but cannot stop it. The estimate is that sixty thousand chests of opium are annually grown in China. This opium is purer and stronger than the Indian opium, but, for want of skill in the preparation, and patience in keeping, it has an acrid flavour."

The means prescribed by this lively writer for extinguishing opium-smoking in China would have no such effect. He admits that instead of being imported, as it now chiefly is, at all events in its superior qualities, it would be grown in China. A market exists in the empire, and the Chinese are at last sagacious enough to see that it will be supplied somehow—either from India in return for tea and silk, or by home production. The probabilities are, that the practice would be extended by the successful prohibition of the trade. A cheaper opium would rule the market, which could be more easily procured, and larger quantities would be consumed, as the grand impediment to a largely-increased demand is the expense. From the instances given by the writer just quoted, it is obvious that the temptation to opium-smoking is yielded to, even when a poor man is obliged to expend four-fifths of his means in gratifying it. The tone of the *Times'* correspondent tends to leave the impression that the evils of opium-smoking, physical and moral, are less than they are in England supposed to be; and as this gentleman is the latest eye-witness, his testimony is likely to have great weight, more especially as he is an acute observer. He attributes the misunderstanding to those who write to please certain classes in England: this is an indirect allusion to the missionaries. It is not, however, to them that any exaggerated impressions in the public mind at home, if any such exist, are to be attributed; but to the official reports of the officers of the Chinese empire, upon which the missionaries have perhaps relied too implicitly. The medical missionaries sent out by the English and American Congregationalists will probably throw light upon the subject: their present belief is, that opium-smoking is one of the most demoralising and ruinous practices known to the eastern world. The following Chinese official report may convey an exaggerated view of the evil, but it at all events shows the impossibility of suppressing the practice, and therefore the demand for the commodity, by legal enactment in China, in India, or in England. The following is a memorial to the emperor from one of the censors: it corresponds to a report in English official usage:—

"I have learned that those who smoke opium, and eventually become its victims, have a periodical longing for it, which can only be assuaged by the application of the drug at the regular time. If they cannot obtain it when that daily period arrives, their limbs become debilitated, a discharge of rheum takes place from the eyes and nose, and they are altogether unequal to any exertion; but with a few whiffs their spirits and strength are immediately restored in a most surprising manner. This opium becomes, to opium-smokers, their very life; and when they are seized and brought before magistrates, they will sooner suffer a severe chastisement than inform against those who sell it. I had the curiosity to visit the opium-smoker in his heaven: and certainly it is a most fearful sight, although, perhaps, not so degrading to the eye as the drunkard from spirits, lowered to the level of the brute, and wallowing in his filth. The idiotic smile, and death-like stupor, however, of the opium-debauchee, has something far more awful to the gaze than the bestiality of the other. . . . The rooms where they sit and smoke are surrounded by wooden couches, with places for the head to rest upon, and generally a side room is devoted to gambling. The pipe is a reed of about an inch in diameter, and the aperture in the bowl for the admission of the opium is not larger than a pin's head. The drug is prepared by boiling and evaporation to the consistence of treacle, and a very small portion is sufficient to charge it, one or two whiffs being the utmost that can be inhaled from a single pipe, and the smoke is taken into the lungs as from the hookah in India. On a beginner, one or two pipes will have an effect; but an old stager will continue smoking for hours. At the head of each couch is placed a small lamp, as fire must be held to the drug during the process of inhaling; and from the difficulty of filling and properly lighting the pipe, there is generally a person who waits upon the smoker to perform the office. A few days of this fearful luxury, when taken to excess, will give a pallid and haggard look to the face; and a few months, or even weeks, will change the strong and healthy man into little better than an idiot skeleton. The pain they suffer when deprived of the drug, after long habit, no language can explain; and it is only when, to a certain degree, under its influence, that their faculties are alive. In all the houses devoted to their ruin, these infatuated people may be seen at nine in the evening; some entering half distracted to feed the craving appetite they have been obliged to subdue during the day; others laughing and talking wildly under the effects of the first pipe; whilst the couches around are filled by different occupants, who lie in a state of languor, with an idiotic smile on their countenances, too much under the influence of the drug to care for passing events, and fast merging to the wished-for consummation. The last scene in this tragic play is generally a room in the rear of the building, a species of dead-house, where lie stretched those who have passed into the state of insensibility the opium-smoker madly seeks—an emblem of the long sleep to which he is blindly hurrying."

The personal appearance of the Chinese men of the lower classes is well known in the larger seaports of England, especially in London. Among the genteeler grades of life very great obesity in a man is a trait of beauty; whereas a woman must be very thin indeed to be accepted as agreeable, and her feet must be very small. Cruel methods are adopted to cramp the feet of female infants, so that women in the better walks of life literally walk upon their heels, and have a hobbling and mincing gait, which the gentlemen exceedingly admire, comparing it, in the language of "the flowery land," to "a willow shaken by the breeze." In the northern parts of the empire, the people are frequently very fair, and are seldom of that dark yellow complexion which the mariners bear who come to London in English ships from Canton and the other open ports of China, or from Singapore and Malacca. The better classes of females have, in the more elevated portions of the country, and in the higher latitudes, delicate, and sometimes beautiful, complexions. Europeans have been frequently captivated with the beauty of the Chinese ladies. The Chinese women are industrious; but although industry is also a characteristic of Chinese men, they often, inconsistently, devolve upon their women the chief labour.

Their manners and customs are extremely antithetical to ours. The law restricts marriage within so many limitations, as neither to favour the happiness nor morality of the people. Widows have much power and influence: the government does not favour their marriage a second time, but the law in this matter is often evaded. Their marriage ceremonies bear a strong resemblance to those of Western Asia, but have some peculiarities. The funeral rites of China are very imposing and impressive. White is the colour of mourning, and is worn by relatives and friends on these occasions. The women lament over the corpse with a cry which some writers have compared to that of the Irish on like occasions; but there is no resemblance: the cry of the Chinese is a dissonant yell raised by the female relatives; that of the Irish is musical but wild, and is "keened" professionally by women who are accustomed to conduct these laments for the dead. The funeral processions are attended by music: the bagpipe, which resembles the Scottish instrument of that name, predominates, and a sort of drum is struck at intervals, as in a military funeral in Europe. The places of burial are picturesque, retired, and carefully tended. The tombs are shaped like the Greek letter omega; some writers say to intimate "the last," but there is no evidence that the Chinese are aware of any such significance being attached to the form of their tombs.

The public festivals are numerous, but description of them would require a space too extended for a subsidiary portion of this work.

Visits of ceremony are much more formal among the Chinese than among any other people, and the ceremonies observed are graceful and elegant. Visiting papers instead of cards are used; these are tastefully decorated, and when opened are of large dimensions. Tea is served on these occasions as a refreshment, a little of the fine leaf being placed in a handsome porcelain cup of small size, and boiling water poured on it; neither sugar nor milk is used, and the decoction thus produced is refreshing and palatable, the aroma being most grateful. Small trays, with cakes and sweetmeats, are at the same time presented. Visits are given and received with every token of courtesy, and a degree of refinement for which Europeans would be indisposed to give this quaint people credit. The apparel worn on these occasions is extremely rich, and often very tasteful.

The long loose oriental dress is generally of silk, of some light colour, gaily ornamented; a spencer is worn over this, consisting of rich silk of a dark blue or purple colour. Dragons and other singular devices, worked with gold thread, decorate these articles of raiment, which are most expensive. The general costume is similar in form, but of much cheaper material. In winter the dress is too loose and wide to be comfortable, and the attempts in severe weather to improve the costume in this respect are clumsy and inconvenient, impeding exercise: the legs are especially protected at that season with cloth boots, which are worn high, the soles of very thick white leather, which are preserved of that colour by the use of whitening.

The habits of food are very remarkable, so far as their customs in this respect have been ascertained: in most places, but especially at Canton, the tavern-keepers are forbid to entertain Europeans. This edict of the government is at the instigation of the Chinese merchants of that city, who have fostered a spirit of exclusiveness in every way possible. The Chinese of the better classes are fond of what is called "good living," and are ingenious and very extravagant in their culinary *régime.* The cooks are very clever. The *Times'* correspondent, in one of his letters written at the close of 1857, affirms that in the culinary art the Chinese hold a middle place between the French and English; but if his own account of their performances be correct, their achievements must surpass those of the first *artistes* in Paris. The poorer classes in the large towns are addicted to voracious feeding, and there is no description of food too coarse or unclean for their morbid appetites. The swine and dogs which have possibly devoured female infants in the streets of Pekin in the morning, may be slaughtered for food the same day. Rats, mice, and other vermin are in request; and there is no creature, however filthy or hideous, on land or in the waters, that may not contribute to a repast. The *Times'* correspondent communicated an amusing and graphic description of the character and quality of a respectable Chinese dinner, which was published in that journal in February, 1858. It is so striking a picture of the mode and sumptuousness of a Chinese feast, that it ought not to be confined to the pages of a periodical, however eminent. According to that gentleman, the use of the knife is regarded in China as a barbarism which once prevailed among the customs of that country, but which, owing to the advancement of civilisation, had been abandoned for "the chopsticks." The argument upon which this change is affirmed to be an improvement is, that persons ought not to sit down to table to cut up carcasses, but to eat: the carving processes are therefore confined to the kitchen, and food is sent up to table fit for immediate use. An Englishman's mode of eating is supposed to resemble that of the savages of Formosa, and the food is presented to him in a condition fit only for men "who are in a state of nature," to whom civilisation and its conveniences and refinements are unknown. When native merchants at the five ports invite Europeans to a banquet, it is regarded as a matter of politeness to serve it up, as far as possible, according to the national customs of the guest; hence Chinese diet is never seen by Europeans, except as they look at coolies and servants eating their rice, perhaps mingled with vegetables, and seasoned; or as they see the beggars in the streets drinking their dog broth. The gentleman whom we are about to quote invited a European party to the "Hotel of the Imperial Academician," at Ningpo, to a dinner prepared in Chinese fashion. The following is his own account of the feast:—

"The *salon* was more like a slice of a verandah than a room: its front was open to the narrow street. The table was laid with the preliminary trifles provocatives to the coming repast. There was a small square tower built up of slices from the breast of a goose, a tumulus of thin square pieces of tripe, hard-boiled eggs of a dark speckled colour, which had been preserved in lime, and whose delicacy is supposed to be proportioned to their antiquity; berries and other vegetable substances preserved in vinegar, a curious pile of some shell-fish, to me unknown, which had been taken from its shell and cut in thin slices, prawns in their natural, or rather in their artificial red state, ground nuts, ginger, and candied fruits. Everything was excellent of its kind, and the unknown shell-fish particularly good in flavour. The first dish was, in accordance with all proper precedent, the birds'-nest soup. I believe some of us were rather surprised not to see the birds' nests bobbing about in the bowl, and to detect no flavour of sticks or feathers or moss. What these birds' nests are in their natural state I do not know, for I have no book on ornithology, and have never been birds'-nesting in the Straits. Their existence at table is apparent in a thick mucilage at the surface of the soup. Below this you come to a white liquid and chickens' flesh. It was objected that this was a *fade* and tasteless delicacy. But remark that these two basins are only the suns of little systems. The same hands that brought them in scattered also an *entourage* of still smaller basins. These are sauces of every flavour and strength, from crushed fresh chilies to simple soy. Watch the Chinaman: how cunningly he compounds. 'But, sir, you do not mean to say that you ate this mucilage with your chopsticks?'—'No, madam, we scooped it with our saucers, and ate it with our porcelain spoons.'

"The next course was expected with a very nervous excitement: it was a stew of sea-slugs. As I have seen them at Macao they are white, but as served at Ningpo they are green. I credit the 'Imperial Academician's' as the orthodox dish. They are slippery, and very difficult to be handled by inexperienced chopsticks; but they are most succulent and pleasant food, not at all unlike in flavour to the green fat of the turtle. During the discussion of this dish our Chinese master of the ceremonies solemnly interposed. We were neglecting the rudiments of politeness. No one had yet offered to intrude one of these sleek and savoury delicacies, deeply rolled in sauce, into the mouth of his neighbour. Efforts were made to retrieve the barbarian honour, but with no great success; for the slugs were evasive, and the proffered mouthful was not always welcome. The next dish was sturgeon skull-cap—rare and gelatinous, but I think not so peculiar in its flavour as to excuse the death of several royal fish. This dish being taken from its brazen, lamp-heated stand, was succeeded by a stew of shark fins and pork. The shark fins were boiled to so soft a consistency that they might have been turbot fins. Next in order came a soup composed of balls of crab. I have tasted this better prepared at Macao. It assumes there the form of a very capital salad, made of crab and cooked vegetables. Meanwhile the ministering boys flew and fluttered round the table, for ever filling the little wine glasses with hot wine from the metal pots. There were three kinds: the strong samshu for very occasional 'spike;' the medicated wine for those who, having once experienced its many flavours, chose to attempt it a second time; and the ordinary wine, which is so like sherry negus, that any one who can drink that preparation may be very well satisfied with its Chinese substitute. The Chinaman had drunk with each of the *convives* almost in English fashion, but in strict obedience to the Chinese rites, and ungallantly challenging the male part of the company first.

"The porcelain bowls in their courses, like the stars in their courses, continued in unpausing succession. The next named was 'The Rice of the Genii,' meaning, I suppose, the food of the genii, for there was no rice in the composition. It was a stew of plums and preserved fruits, whose sweets and acids were an agreeable counterpoise to the fish and meat dishes already taken. Then we had a dish of a boiled hairy vegetable, very like that stringy endive which they call in France '*Barbe de Capuchin*:' then stewed mushrooms from Manchuria. Then we relapsed into another series of fish and meat *entrées*, wherein vegetables of the vegetable-marrow species, and a root somewhat between a horse-radish and a turnip, were largely used. There was a bowl of ducks' tongues, which are esteemed an exquisite Chinese dainty. We were picking these little *morceaux* out with our chopsticks (at which we had now become adepts, for the knack is easily acquired), when we were startled by a loud Chinese '*Eh Yaw*.' This imprudent exclamation drew our attention to the open front of our apartment. The opposite house, distant perhaps across the street about eight feet from us, presented the spectacle of a small crowded playhouse seen from the stage: it was densely crowded with half-naked Chinamen. They were packed in a mass upon the gallery, and they were squatted upon the roof. I believe they had paid for their places. They had sat orderly and silent all this time to see the barbarians dining. We might have dropped the grass blinds, but it would have been ill-natured; the Chinese did us no harm, and the blinds would have kept out the air, so we went on eating, like Greenwich pensioners or Bluecoat boys, in public. So we continued our attentions to the ducks' tongues, and passed on to deers' tendons—a royal dish. These deers' tendons come, or ought to come, from Tartary. The emperors make presents of them to their favoured subjects. Yeh's father at Canton recently received some from his sovereign, and gave a feast in honour of the present. These must have been boiled for a week to bring them down to the state of softness in which they came up to us. Exhausted, or rather repleted nature, could no more. When a stew of what the Chinese call the ear shell-fish was placed upon the table, no one could carry his experiments further. An untouched dish is the signal for the close of the feast. The *maître-d'hôtel* protested that he had twenty more courses of excellent rarity, but our Chinese master of the ceremonies was imperative, and so were we. Plain boiled rice, the rice of Szechuen, was brought round in little bowls, and of this we all ate plentifully. Confectionery and candied fruits, and acanthus berries steeped in spirits, followed, and then tea. No uncooked fruit is allowed at a Chinese dinner. They have a proverb that fruit is feathers in the morning, silk at noon, and lead at night. I was assured by competent authority that nothing had been placed upon the table which was not in the highest degree wholesome, nutritious, and light of digestion. We certainly so found it; for, adjourning to the house of one of the *convives*, we made an excellent supper that night.

"The master of the ceremonies now looked round him with a swollen and satisfied air, and—*cruscit mons;* from his mouth came forth a loud sonorous noise, which a certain dramatist has not scrupled to bedeck with knighthood, and to christen Sir Toby. He, the Chinaman, seemed proud of his performance. We sat uncomfortable on our chairs, did not know which way to look, and some of us would have run away had there been anywhere to run to. Some one who could speak his language gave him a hint which made him declare emphatically that it would be an insult to the founder of the feast if this testimony was not loudly given to the sufficiency of the entertainment and the pletion of the guests. It was with some difficulty that he was prevailed upon to turn over this chapter of the book of rites. And thus ended our Chinese dinner. Before we entered our chairs we walked through the whole establishment, saw the reservoirs for preserving all the curious creatures we had been eating, and examined all the processes of preparation, and the casseroles and ovens in which other dinners were then being prepared. Everything was as clean and as regular as in a first-rate European establishment. Of course I do not affirm that this dinner was to our tastes, but it was one to which education and habit might very reasonably incline a people. It was eminently light and digestible, and, like the Chinese themselves, very reasonable and defensible upon philosophic grounds, but somewhat monotonous, tedious, and insipid. We must recollect, however, that the higher classes in China never take exercise, and are necessarily a sedentary and dyspeptic class of feeders. It was unanimously resolved that the bill of fare ought to be preserved, and the dinner described; for, although several travellers have given the forms and ceremonies of a Chinese state dinner, and have indulged in a general jocoseness at the strangeness of its materials, no one has ever yet taken the trouble to inform himself as to what the dishes before him really did contain."

The amusements of the Chinese are more varied and more frequently enjoyed than might be supposed of a people having a reputation for gravity. Juggling, games of chance, archery, and what appears to Europeans a puerile occupation, kite-flying, are the principle of these. The ingenuity displayed in this diversion is surprising, the kites being in the form of birds, fishes, reptiles, and monster insects, copied from nature as to form and colour with astonishing exactness. The higher the grade of life, the less given are the people to athletic exercises. Gentlemen in the very highest ranks are fond of archery.

The literature and language of China have engaged the attention of Europeans. The French, Germans, Russians, and other continental nations, although less interested by commerce and connexion than the English, have given it more consideration. The study may be said to have found encouragement in India only contemporaneously with the missionary enterprise. The labours of Dr. Morrison, and the impulse given to religious efforts for China on the part of Christian persons in England, laid the foundation for our present acquaintance with the language and literature of that country. It is the custom to describe the language as monosyllabic, but some recent writers maintain that it is less so than it has been represented to be. It is remarkable for the number of its characters, and the paucity of its vocal sounds. The characters of the language were originally pictures of ideas, but their original simplicity has been forgotten in a great measure, as they became in course of time abbreviated or enlarged for convenience sake. The want of an alphabet compels the use of cumbrous modes of expressing foreign words, very embarrassing to the European student of Chinese, and to the native scholars who hold foreign intercourse, or have to translate or interpret from any strange language into their own. The figurative style both of speech and writing is far more exaggerated and much less elegant than in the languages of western Asia. There is frequently a vulgar coarseness in the figures of speech used by Chinese scholars and gentlemen repulsive to Europeans of any taste. Dr. Morrison, the missionary, thus expressed his sense of the difficulty of the language both to natives and foreigners :—"A child in China learns to speak its mother tongue as early as a child in England, but a Chinese boy does not learn to write it with the same ease. It is far more difficult for an Englishman to learn to speak, read, and write Chinese than to make these attainments in any other language. An English boy, who knows the grammar of his own language, and has a smattering of Latin, if he goes to French, Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese, finds the letters the same, nearly with the same power, the method of writing them similar, the sound of words directing to the combination of the letters, and in every half a dozen words he find one which he knew before, with some slight modification; but if he goes to Chinese he find no letters, nothing to communicate sounds, no similarity, the method radically different, and not one word like what he has known before, and when he knows the pronunciation of words and sentences the sound does not at all direct to the character which is the sign of the same idea."

The literature of the Chinese language is varied and extensive. Every department of literature known to Europeans has its corresponding branch in the language of China. Their mythology is ancient and peculiar. Their sacred writings are of the age of Confucius (five hundred years previous to the Christian era), that sage himself being the chief of this class of authors. Confucius is the great prophet and teacher of the nation, and his maxims are laws. He is as much followed by the higher classes as Buddha by the middle ranks. Many of the maxims of Confucius are beautiful, but they are evidently derived from the Jewish Scriptures, and are easily distinguishable from those of a Chinese origin. The great mass of the precepts of the followers and expositors of Confucius, as well as of the philosopher himself, are such as a shrewd worldly wisdom would suggest, and have no higher motive than convenience, personal advantage, or the love of fame.

Education is encouraged by the state, and approved of by the people. The character of the education given is such as to increase the national egotism, to teach the people at large to despise women and foreigners, and to train those up in the philosophy of Confucius who aspire to serve the empire in political situations.

The government is a pure despotism. There is no aristocracy but that of learning. Wealth has its influence; but as all that a man is and has belong to the emperor, it is not always judicious to allow his wealth to be known. The eldest son has a double portion of the family property. The mandarins are the chief officers of state, and none can attain to this degree until after various and severe examinations in the learning of their nation. The emperor assumes numerous titles full of the most absurd pretension, and in a certain degree demands from his people religious worship. Foreigners are despised and hated, intercourse with them being reluctantly conceded.

The origin of the Chinese is lost in the remotest antiquity. Some of the books of the Hindoos represent them as of Indian origin; their own records, with more probability, assign to a region in the north-west of the empire their primitive home. Possibly the Hindoo race may have sprung from a tribe or family in the same mountainous region, whose abode and physical peculiarities produced all their divergent characteristics. The Chinese mixed with other races—Malays, and probably races which have long since ceased to have a distinctive existence, so that in the long course of ages they have assumed their present type of humanity. Some writers represent them as descendants of a pre-Adamite race. Those who take this view of course dispute the interpretation of the Scripture narrative, if not the narrative itself,—that Adam and Eve were the primeval pair. Notwithstanding the learned and ingenious torture to which the passage has been subjected by critics and ethnologists, such a view is opposed to the plain import of the Scripture declaration—"God hath made of one blood all the nations of men."

Having described the general character and condition of China proper, the features of the country, its productions, people, their customs, character, religion, language, literature, and government, it only remains to complete the description of China proper by some notice of its capital and chief cities.

Pekin is the great metropolis of the empire, the seat of government, and "the centre of the imperial throne." It is situated in a vast alluvial plain, rich in soil, and teeming with cultivated productions, and from it as a centre radiates a great system of river and canal communication, which connects it with the most fertile parts of China proper, and the great nuclei of population. The country around Pekin has an agriculture superior to that of any other part of China, although the city stands on a sandy and arid soil. It is divided into two parts—the northern and southern; the former, which is the Tartar city, is in the form of a parallelogram, the sides of which face the four cardinal points. Its area is about twelve square miles.* The walls are thirty feet high, twenty-five feet in breadth at the base, and twelve feet in breadth at the top, the inclination being on the inner side. Near the gates, of which there are seven, the walls are faced with marble and granite, in other places with large bricks cased in a mortar of lime and clay, which is as hard as the hardest stone.† The imposing appearance of the exterior is not sustained by a corresponding grandeur within. The city is mean in the appearance of its private houses, streets, and public buildings. The principal streets are well laid out as to shape and width, but they are unpaved and filthy, and are generally filled with stench, emitted by great earthen pans of ordure, collected for manure.

The business streets receive a certain picturesque appearance from the diversity of signboards, ornamented with inscriptions, painted representations, ribbons, long strips of many-coloured paper, and frequently broad flags. The great concourse of persons passing along the thoroughfares or dealing in the shops also attract the stranger's attention, and present a lively scene. Sometimes the crowds cover the whole area of the street, and are often suddenly dispersed to the right and left by long processions of mandarins, attended by men carrying umbrellas, painted lanterns, and various insignia of office; also by funeral processions, the women advancing in front, uttering loud and piercing cries. Marriage trains are among the compact lines of persons which seek a passage, always civilly yielded; these are accompanied by drums and other loud instruments of music. Dromedaries, with coal from Tartary, sedan chairs, provision carts, jugglers, itinerant musicians, pedlars, and quacks, passing to and fro, form a motley scene. The streets are occupied beyond the lines of shops by ranges of stalls, and a Babel of strange sounds reigns along those rows, as the chapmen endeavour to commend their goods, and the purchasers question their worth or quality.

The street performances of tumblers, jugglers, and mountebanks, are well rewarded; and the stolid Chinese, as we are accustomed to deem them, may be seen enjoying mirth and laughter in their most boisterous forms. One might suppose that the worship of Momus was the chief occupation among all the din of sounds and changing scenes passing around.

The northern division of Pekin contains three enclosures, one within another, and each surrounded by a wall. The first contains the imperial palace and household; the second was originally intended for the public officers, and the residence of the great officers of state, but, in addition, merchants have taken up their abodes, and transact their business there; the third enclosure is for the citizens generally. The first, or inmost enclosure, is the most architectural and imposing; it is called the "Forbidden City."

The opinions of the Chinese, in the remoter provinces, concerning their capital is absurd, investing it with an exaggerated grandeur, ludicrous to those who have seen it. They believe that its palaces are marble, the columns of silver, the throne, and all the insignia of royalty, of gold, and sparkling with the costliest gems.

The southern portion of Pekin is less strictly guarded than the northern, but is very populous. The whole is surrounded by a wall, the circumference within which is twenty-five miles. The suburbs are very extensive, and also very populous, containing streets, in which are large shops with fronts expensively carved and gilt. Mr. Barrow gives some account of the architectural pretensions of Pekin, which differ too little from those of the country generally to deserve further notice. Its population is estimated at ‡two millions, but the jealous policy of the government has precluded the possibility of obtaining accurate information concerning it.

China, so long closed against the residence of Europeans, except the mission of the Jesuits, was partially opened in 1842, being the result of the successful military operations of Sir Hugh (now Lord) Gough, and by the diplomatic negotiations of Sir Henry Pottinger. According to the treaty then effected, five ports were to be opened to universal commerce, and every facility was to be afforded to the residence in those places of strangers who came for the purposes of trade. The ports to be opened were Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai. Before giving a description of these cities, it is desireable to place the terms of the treaty before the reader, so far as is necessary to enable him to understand the present position of Englishmen in China, their rights, and the causes of the complaints which have once more rendered an appeal to arms necessary.

August 12, 1842.—Meetings were held by officers of the two powers, in which preliminaries were arranged. A genuine statement of facts was sent to the emperor, the demands of the British made known to him, and permission granted to the commissioners to conclude a treaty in accordance with them.

August 20.—The first interview took place between the plenipotentiaries on board the *Cornwallis*—a visit of ceremony only.

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* The Rev. Thomas Philips.

† Barrow.

August 24.—The visit was returned on shore by Sir Henry Pottinger, Sir Hugh Gough, and Sir William Parker.

August 26.—The high plenipotentiaries held a meeting on shore for the purpose of consulting the terms of the treaty.

August 29.—A treaty of peace was signed before Nankin, on board the *Cornwallis*, by Sir Henry Pottinger on the part of Great Britain, and by Ke-ying, Elepoo, and Neu-Kien, on the part of the Emperor of China. The most important provisions of the treaty, as stated by Sir Henry Pottinger, are as follows:—

1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires.

2. China to pay twenty-one million dollars in the course of the present and three succeeding years.

3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai to be thrown open to British merchants; consular officers to be appointed to reside at them; and regular and just tariffs of import and export, as well as inland transit duties, to be established and published.

4. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic majesty, her heirs and successors.

5. All subjects of her Britannic majesty, whether natives of Europe or India, who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released.

6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor, under his imperial sign-manual and seal, to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service under the British government or its officers.

7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality between the officers of both governments.

8. On the emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first six million dollars, her Britannic majesty's forces to retire from Nankin and the Grand Canal, and the military posts at Chinhai to be also withdrawn; but the islands of Chusan and Ku-langsu are to be held until the money payments and the arrangements for opening the ports be completed.

September 8.—The emperor signifies his assent to the conditions of the treaty.

December 31.—The Great Seal of England is affixed to the treaty.

July 22, 1843.—A proclamation issued by Sir Henry Pottinger, signifying that the ratifications of the treaty of Nankin have been exchanged under the signs-manual and seals of her majesty the Queen of Great Britain and his majesty the Emperor of China; and that a commercial treaty has been concluded: the trade according to the new system to commence at Canton on the 27th of July; the four remaining ports to be opened as soon as the imperial edict to that effect has been received.

This edict was afterwards issued, the ports were opened, and consuls appointed. At Canton, however, it was pretended by the representative of his imperial majesty that the treaty could not be carried into effect, in consequence of the turbulent character of the people of that city, and the old restrictions were enforced with little mitigation. The British authorities, meekly adopting what they considered a conciliatory policy, allowed this infraction of the treaty, forgetting that orientals never appreciate concessions made from such motives, but look upon them as proofs of the intellectual imbecility of those who make them, or as signs of their political weakness, or evidences that they are ashamed of their own cause and principles, and doubt its justice. The Cantonese thus reasoned: they supposed that, after having made the experiment of war upon the empire, the English believed it to be invincible; that the liberty of commerce granted by the emperor arose from his great clemency, and somewhat from his contempt of the barbarians, whose power he had tested, and proved to be "as the willow before the monsoon;" that the English dare not enforce the treaty at Canton, the citizens of which would prove their loyalty to the too clement emperor, and teach an important lesson to the barbarians, by refusing them ingress to their city. The English authorities had the extraordinary infatuation to submit to this, and with the approval of the country generally. The Peel party, the peace party, the free-trade party, and many enlightened and humane English citizens, upheld the government in overlooking the breach of treaty, and, for the sake of peace and humanity, endeavouring to conduct their commerce at Canton under the restrictions which the violaters of the treaty imposed. The result was outrages and wrongs upon English and other foreign citizens, and at last an appeal to arms in 1857. A peremptory demand for the faithful execution of the treaty the moment any hesitation was evinced to comply with it would have spared the shedding of much blood and the loss of much property, as well as have secured years ago a fair, if not friendly feeling, with the Cantonese, who continued to cherish hatred and contempt to strangers, under the inflated ideas of their importance and power, which the submission of the English conduced to foster. The native merchants of Canton, and the viceroys of the emperor, exasperated the native prejudices for their own venal purposes. There was a supplementary treaty to that of Nankin, which has been felt very injuriously by the British traders at all the ports.

Extracts from the Supplementary Treaty, Oct. 8, 1842.

ART. IV.—After the five ports of Canton, Foo-choo-foo, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, shall be thrown open, English merchants shall be allowed to trade only at those five ports. Neither shall they repair to any other ports or places, nor will the Chinese people at any other ports or places be permitted to trade with them. If English merchant-vessels shall, in contravention of this agreement, and of a proclamation to the same purport to be issued by the British plenipotentiary, repair to any other ports or places, the Chinese government officers shall be at liberty to seize and confiscate both vessels and cargoes; and should Chinese people be discovered clandestinely dealing with English merchants at any other ports or places, they shall be punished by the Chinese government in such manner as the law may direct.

ART. VI.—It is agreed that English merchants and others residing at or resorting to the five ports to be

> opened, shall not go into the surrounding country beyond short distances to be named by the local authorities in concert with the British consul, and on no pretence for purposes of traffic. Seamen and persons belonging to the ships shall only be allowed to land under authority and rules, which will be fixed by the consul in communication with the local officers; and should any persons whatever infringe the stipulations of this article, and wander away into the country, they shall be seized and handed over to the British consul for suitable punishment.

The interpretation of the clause limiting the distance to which British subjects may go into the country, has been a source of perpetual dispute, and the lives of Englishmen have been repeatedly sacrificed, when they were, as they supposed, enjoying such liberty in the country as the treaty allowed. At all the ports except Canton the severity of the imperial restrictions have been relaxed, and some adventurous Englishmen have penetrated far into the interior.

Canton is situated in a plain, which is well cultivated; there are undulated landscapes at no great distance, and a bold line of hills towards the north-east. The city is divided into two portions—north and south; the former is called the old city, the latter the new. The northern is the Tartar town, and is three times as large, and nearly three times as populous, as the Chinese town. "The new city" is enclosed by walls, which are carried down to the river. The suburbs greatly exceed the city in extent, and are very populous. The population of the town and its environs is generally computed at one million.

There are few places more repulsive to a European. The streets are narrow lanes, reeking with abominable odours, and filled with a filthy, riotous, and arrogant population. New China Street, Curiosity Street, and some others near the foreign residences, afford innumerable vistas of long narrow lanes, such as no European imagination could conceive. The confusion and crowding of so vast a population in such thoroughfares must occasion great inconvenience, especially as any large object, such as a load protruding far from the head or shoulders of a coolie, or a mandarin carried in his chair upon the shoulders of four men, necessarily fills a large portion of the space. The people bear these inconveniences with good humour, and accidents seldom occur. Fires are, however, very frequent, and terrible destruction is created by them. The style of the houses is inferior, but there are good taverns and hotels, to which the merchants resort whose families are at a distance; and when these buildings are lighted up gaily at night, they present a cheerful and sometimes almost brilliant spectacle. Canton has one hundred and twenty-seven temples, pagodas, and joss-houses.

The situation of the town on the Canton River gives it great commercial advantages, which are increased by the character and resources of the country beyond it. The sinuosities and intricacies of the river's approach are most troublesome to mariners, and, were the Chinese more skilled in the art of war, would furnish great advantage against a maritime enemy attempting Canton. In the vicinity of the city itself the river washes into the land in innumerable creeks. A large number of the inhabitants reside in boats upon the water: this river population has been computed variously from one to two hundred thousand—the latter is probably the more correct computation. The boats are somewhat ark-shaped, and might, at a little distance, be mistaken for wooden houses built along the low banks of the stream. Their occupants live in much harmony, taking good humouredly and patiently the accidents which must sometimes, but do not often, occur to their floating tenements. When, on the 19th of December, 1857, the British and French squadrons anchored off the city, the terror of these river-residents was great; and the sight afforded by so vast a population moving away upon the water was extraordinary and impressive. The allies, in their clemency, allowed this movement; and those who on shore resided in wooden and portable dwellings, took them down with great rapidity, and removed them out of the range of the guns. The river here divides Canton from Honan, situated on the opposite side. The channel is not three hundred yards wide, and it appears much narrower when covered by the mass of boats already described. The mandarin passage-boats, with high poops elaborately carved, and the flower-boats painted gaily, and hung within with lustres and lanterns, give an air of the picturesque to what otherwise would be sombre and monotonous. The cargo-boats which ply in their trade, and which, unlike the hut-boats which are dwellings, are constantly moving about, and give a maritime aspect to the river, which relieves the sameness created by the long, dull lines of the motionless habitations of those whose home is on the water. The gentleman who corresponded with the *Times* during the hostile operations at the close of 1857, describing the appearance of the river and city at the moment when the latter was cleared of the fugitive boats, has afforded a more distinct idea of the place and its aspect viewed from on board ship, than any other writer who has imparted his impressions of Canton:—"And now the channel is clear. We have an uninterrupted view along it. It is not nearly so wide as the Thames at Wapping, and moreover there are no bridges to interrupt the line of sight; but the buildings on each side are much of the same character as those at Wapping and Rotherhithe—the warehouses of Honan on the right, the low buildings of Canton on the left. About half-a-mile up there is a wide interval, covered only with heaps of building rubbish, but having no structure standing but a newly-built Chinese gateway—a sort of triumphal arch, whereon is writ, in Chinese characters, 'The site of Hog Lane.' Beyond this interval, as large or larger than the Temple Gardens—an interval which will be readily recognised as the location of the destroyed factories—there are ruins. High, square, brick-built pillars start up from the *débris* of their fallen roofs: these are the remains of the hongs and warehouses, battered or buried during the retaliatory attack of the British fleet. A little further on, where the stream slightly widens, there is an islet in mid-channel: it is covered with the wreck of masonry; stones and brickwork are lying about in shapeless masses; but nine trees, which have survived the deed of violence these ruins tell of, rise in the interstices, and shake their leaves and offer shade. This islet shuts in the view and closes the vista; it is the site of the Dutch Folly Fort."

Probably no large city, at all events out of China, ever possessed so little architectural attractions. The northern portion, where the residence of the viceroy and the public offices are situated, is much pleasanter than the southern, for it contains large gardens belonging to state functionaries; but with the exception of certain elevated spots, occupied by forts, the whole aspect of the city, from whatever point it is viewed, is dreary and monotonous.

The country on the banks of the Canton River has seldom been admired, but the writer last quoted expresses an animated admiration of it. When he visited it last November, the second rice crop was being gathered, the patches of sugar-cane looked green and reedy, and the bananas still clustered upon the trees; the climate at that season is not severe, and the landscape wears a pleasing aspect. The country is a rich alluvial vale, dotted and intersected with granite hills.

Shanghai is the capital of a department called Sung-keang-foo. It is surrounded by a wall three miles in circumference, which is entered by six gates. A canal, twenty feet in width, surrounds this wall, from which others branch through the city. The town is also surrounded and intersected either by rivers or canals; and the whole country, for many miles, is cut through by dykes, ditches, and drains, which irrigate the soil and drain it, as may be required. A considerable section of the town near to the western gate is occupied by gardens. There is a good line of river frontage, extending half a mile, suitable for commercial convenience. On the north-east suburbs land has been set apart for foreign residents. The site of the city is excellent for trade: it is generally regarded as salubrious. The climate, for a considerable portion of the year, is agreeable to Europeans; but in the height of summer the glass rises to 100°, while in the depth of winter it falls to 24°. The population is about one-fifth that of Canton, and one-tenth that of Pekin. Shanghai is geographically situated 33° 24′ north latitude, 121° 32′ east longitude, on the banks of the Woosung River, at the point of its confluence with the Wangpoo, and is distant about twelve miles from the confluence of the Yang-tse. The following picturesque description of the approach to the city is given by the gentleman who has been before quoted as the most recent traveller in China whose accounts have been given to the public:—

"At a distance of three miles, in the grey twilight, Shanghai looks like a distant view of Woolwich. The tall spars of the *Pique* frigate, the English and American steamers of war, and a fleet of merchant vessels, give an air of life and bustle to the waters of this noble tributary to the Yang-tse-Kiang. Higher up, where a turn in the river gives an inland appearance, we see a multitudinous mass of junk masts, just as from Greenwich and Woolwich we see the spars of the ships that crowd our docks. All tells of a large commerce requiring a strong protection. In this indistinct light the 'hongs' of the European settlement loom like the ship slips at Deptford or Woolwich. It is only upon a near approach that they resolve themselves into fine finished buildings, some columned like Grecian temples, some square and massive like Italian palaces, but all declaratory that the *res angusta domi* is a woe unknown to Englishmen in China.

"The English settlement at Shanghai is situate upon a bend of this river Wangpoo: its boundaries are its fortifications. On one side the Soo-choo River, which comes down from the great city Soo-choo (the Birmingham of China), and falls into the Wangpoo, forms its limits. On the other side, the Yang-kang-pang canal shuts it from the settlement allotted to the French. This French allotment extends up to the walls of the Chinese city of Shanghai. The frontage upon the Wangpoo, between the Soo-choo River and the canal, is nearly a mile in length, and the settlement extends backwards about half a mile. This space is divided into squares by six roads at right angles with the river, and three parallel to it, and in these squares are the residences and godowns of the commercial houses, each in its surrounding plot of ornamented ground. In the rear of all is the Shanghai racecourse."

The commercial importance of Shanghai is very great. In 1856, the number of British ships which unloaded at the quays was 309, their united burthen being 92,943 tons. The imports of Shanghai which, during the same year, passed through the custom-house from all parts, were of the value of £3,010,511: this was irrespective of the grand import from British India of opium to the value of £4,634,305. The tea exported to Europe, America, and Australia, the silk exported chiefly to Europe, and a few other commodities also sent abroad, reached the enormous value of £11,932,806. Of course the difference was received by China in the precious metals, chiefly silver; this was one of the causes of that great drain of silver from Europe and America, which has affected the monetary and commercial world, and which, for a time, appeared to be a puzzle to financiers and capitalists. During the year 1857 there was a great increase in the imports, but a still greater in the exports, requiring a larger payment in the precious metals to adjust the balance. The returns have not yet reached Europe by which these statements can be proved, but persons intimately acquainted with the commerce of the port affirm that the proportion of exports to imports during 1857 will require nearly double the amount of silver to be paid at Shanghai. This prosperity is the result of the industry of the people and the enterprise of foreigners, chiefly English and Americans, while the signs of bad government prevail all through that part of the interior, of which Shanghai is the natural outlet. Official peculation, and the grinding oppressions which have created a great rebellion, have worried and distressed the country, and left it without roads; while its wonderful water-lines have been permitted to fall into decay over a considerable area of country where these are essential to the public weal.

There is a mail between Shanghai and Hong-Kong, carried by five steamers of two hundred and ninety horse-power. It is alleged that cargoes of opium produce the chief profit realised: there are generally six British receiving ships in the river, to which the Chinese repair for the article. The centre of the great commerce of Shanghai is the foreign settlement already referred to, and which merits a more particular description. The buildings are very large, well built, two stories in height, with upper verandahs, and lower ones of a different form. The garden-ground is laid out with firs, shrubs, and flowers. The tea and silk warehouses are generally about one hundred and thirty feet in length, by forty in width: most of them are built of brick, but some of Ningpo granite. The merchants of Shanghai have the reputation of living in great luxury.

The most interesting objects in the Chinese city are the English Missionary Church, and an American lecture-room. The joss-house is an object of curiosity to strangers: in the centre of an extensive hall is a large cup, with the names of those who contributed to place it there inscribed upon it. The exterior and entrance are covered with figures of Buddha and saints curiously carved; also of dragons, and strange creatures of Chinese imagination. The interior is highly decorated, and large gilt statues of Buddha abound. Various emblematical figures, to which the vulgar render worship, are also placed there.

A visit to a Shanghai court of justice in 1856 by an American* is thus narrated:—"Again we started for the court of justice, and this was a memorable half hour in my tour. It was a clean, dignified room, with a mandarin, whose whole mien bore unmistakeable marks of authority, sitting on the seat of the judge, with policemen, assistants, officials, and clerks, on every side; the prisoners, with chains about their legs, and arms hid behind them, were waiting their trial and the decision of the judge. One man was up in the criminal box; but the system of examination was too cruel for me to continue long in the room. First the guard struck him fiercely over the mouth with a bamboo official staff, the poor wretch shrieking with pain; the other prisoners all the while remaining stolid and indifferent spectators, not knowing who was to come next. Afterwards another kind of torture was resorted to, the guard making the criminal kneel down with his hands above his head in a position which extorted yells of agony, the judge and the officials all showing the utmost indifference. A little further on there were two criminals with huge bolts about their ankles, and the *kanga* (a large square piece of plank) hung round their neck. The whole trial seemed a farce—a mixture of brutal cruelty with refined barbarism. From the court we went to the bastinado, or jail, and saw scores of prisoners above and below: all the cells were crowded, and the clanking of chains and hoarse growls of the prisoners spoke another phase of Chinese life." Mr. Train also visited the hospital, which he declares to be equal to those of the United States in care, cleanliness, and comfort.

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* George Francis Train, Esq., Boston, Massachusetts.

On a former page reference was made to the existence of foundling hospitals in China. That at Shanghai was visited by the gentleman last quoted, and his account of it affords a most striking exhibition of Chinese manners. Having described the mode of depositing the baby, similar to that already given, he observes:—"As we entered, the nurses, each with a child in her arms, started off in all directions, apparently frightened at the appearance of the *fau-quais* (foreign devils). It was some time before they would come out of their rooms, and then they stared at us with unfeigned surprise. I should have taken up one of the Lilliputian Celestials, but I was cautioned against it—for, if no contagious disease be caught, you are sure to get vermin on your dress. We wandered about the large apartments from room to room, all of which had one or two occupants, and some were filled with older children, in baby-jumpers of strikingly original make, the nurses all appearing, after a moment of fright, to gaze upon the strange sight of features, manners, and dress. Is it possible, said I, that all the charitable institutions of the European and Anglo-Saxon race are observed in such detail in Asiatic China!"

Among the modern enterprises of Shanghai is a large market, which an American was erecting at a recent period, and which, possibly, by this time has been brought to a completion.

The city of Foo-choo-foo (called also Hoh-choo) is situated in 26° 7′ north latitude, and in 119° 15′ east longitude. This is a very large town—one of the largest in China. The circumscribing wall is eight and a half miles in extent. It is the capital of the province of Fo-kien. The population is computed at more than half a million. The country around forms a circular basin, with a diameter of twenty miles. The usual uniformity and monotony of a Chinese city is to be found in this, but there are various relieving circumstances. Trees are planted at various places, which, notwithstanding their pent-up situation, display their verdure and refresh the eye. At the northern extremity a hill rises abruptly, and is crowned by a watch-tower, which can be seen from the whole city and the country around for some distance. On the south-east another hill rises five hundred feet, its sides ornamented with temples and the better description of dwellings. Between these two hills in the southern section of the city there are two rather striking pagodas. The residences of the great mandarins are indicated by tall decorated poles or by painted walls. The city walls are devious, strangely coloured, and bear conspicuous buildings, meant for watch-towers. The writer last quoted describes his visit, which was made at night, under the guidance of Chinese boatmen; and represents himself as taken through lanes dismal in the lantern's shade, up dirty, ragged, stone-fenced streets, down under deeper arches than before, only to go up again stone steps almost perpendicular to an immense height.

It was not until 1853 that Foo-choo-foo assumed importance in the eyes of the foreign merchants: the disturbances at Canton and the rebellion at Shanghai brought it into notice. American enterprise has the credit of having first turned the port to advantage, but the first vessel which left it freighted with Chinese produce was Dutch.

The streets are narrow, intricate, and unsightly, as is the case with all Chinese towns; probably they are narrower in Foo-choo-foo than in any other great city of China. Narrow as the streets are, they are made more so by the encroachments of the vendors of various commodities, who occupy the side-ways, so as to leave in the centre scarcely any room for a chair to be carried through.

The most conspicuous buildings are the treasury department, and the houses of the various officials. There are two temples of some note—one dedicated to "the god of war," and one to "the goddess of mercy." The viceregal palace, the college, and jail, are all worthy of some consideration, but their exterior is not remarkable, except for the curious decorations, which show the Chinese desire of display. An intelligent traveller who passed through the streets of the city declares that the people's industry surpassed anything witnessed by him anywhere, although he had visited every portion of the globe. So intent were many of the mechanics upon their business, that although a European carried in a chair through their streets was a rare sight, and great crowds followed that in which our observer was seated, yet these workmen never raised their eyes from their occupations. This traveller considered the Ningpo temple the best piece of architecture at Fouchow; it has numerous apartments, and galleries oddly stuccoed, or carved, or painted. There are two enormous columns of granite, its chief exterior ornament, and these are covered with designs the most peculiar. These specimens of Chinese architectural taste cost "two almas"—ten thousand dollars, which, considering the cheapness of material and labour in China, would equal £4000 in England, and probably more. The sculpture on these columns is tastefully executed in some instances, but the chief effect is produced by the originality and oddity of the designs.

The bridge of Waw-show is one of the curiosities of the city; it is an immense structure. The first part of it, from the south side to the island of Chang-chow, consists of nine stone arches; it is three hundred and thirty feet long by twelve wide; from the island the bridge is continued to the Nan-toe suburb, a distance of thirteen hundred feet. "The upper bridge, on the western side, is eleven thousand feet in length." The whole of the lines of bridges are occupied with street vendors, retailing pancakes, bamboos, and innumerable oddities of food, apparel, and utensils, the use of which could not be recognised by a European. The result of this shopkeeping on the bridge thoroughfares is to narrow still more their original inadequate dimensions, and thereby impede the traffic. "Twice," wrote a traveller, who recorded his experience of the bridge of Waw-show, "my chair was near going over, and once I was held bodily over the tumbling waters below for more than a minute, so as to let an immense *cortège* with a Chinese mandarin go by. This bridge is old, but strong as petrified rock; and how the architect raised the immense stones to their resting-place with the simple machinery of China I am at a loss to understand." The same writer records the experience of another day in the streets of this city in the following interesting record:—"While passing along one of the widest streets we suddenly saw a great commotion among the citizens, and a most abrupt dropping of my chair came immediately after; then appeared bands of Chinese music; then officers of state, on little long-haired, dirty white ponies, with pikes and shields, followed by a company of infantry, one upon another, in splendid confusion; and just at this moment my coolie got another crack over the head with a bamboo for being too anxious to view a pompous mandarin; others came pouring on—musicians and guards—and soon some well-dressed chair-bearers; and then it was that I discovered the cause of this immense assemblage, and why I had been so grossly insulted by having my chair thrown into the mud—for I was just then in the presence of his most royal and noble exellency the Tartar general of the province and country round about. More of his *attachés* followed, and everything was again quiet. On mentioning this circumstance on my return to the British consul, he said it was most unusual to meet the great officer away from his palace, but that his want of courtesy only tends to show the still hostile feeling which the mandarins, not immediately interested, have against foreigners. I also have been told that the prefect has sent two or three most insulting notes to her majesty's representative. Save that unceremonious reception, we met with no hard treatment from the dense crowd that followed us through the palace-yard, where we were obliged to leave our chairs, through Curiosity Street, one of the widest in the city. The Tartar general was completely wrapped in furs, and, as he was paraded past, looked down upon us with the greatest possible contempt. We examined in Curiosity Street the whole assortment of bronze and stone ornaments, and saw many beautiful specimens of ivory-carving, wood-work, and tortoise-shell, all which show patience, plodding, and ingenuity, remarkable, for each specimen is made with the simplest machinery. My companion made some purchases of bronze, but I was more amused with some lacquered ware that was on exhibition in one of the shops, and purchased eighty dollars' worth of little boxes (exquisitely ornamented, entirely made of lacquer), and a beautiful lady's dressing-case, with more compartments than cells in a honeycomb. These presents for home are most valuable, because so rare; only one individual in the empire possesses the secret, and Fouchow is the only place where they can be bought, hence the enormous prices which are charged, for all that he manufactures that are not sold to foreigners are taken to the imperial palace at Pekin, which accounts for the independence of the artist—no rival in his Japanese skill, and an emperor and empress for patrons! Save in that wonderful ware, I think that the much-celebrated Curiosity Street of Fouchow is over-rated. One day soon disappeared in searching about that old city, which numbers some six hundred thousand souls, and, if the suburbs are also included, possibly a million. But, from my description of what I saw in Shanghai, you may judge of my experience to-day. My time did not admit of my going over the grounds of the old British consulate, formerly a monastery of much antiquity and consequent interest, from which site the view of the city is most beautiful; neither did I visit the far-famed monastery of Coæ-shan, situated about fourteen hundred feet above the city, commanding a most imposing view for miles around. The quaint bell and immense gong struck by the priests—the ancient relic of Buddha—a whale's tooth—an old priest, said to be five hundred years of age, who lives in a cage, with finger-nails four inches long, and who looks in splendid condition for a man who eats nothing, and has been starving himself for centuries—the pond of tame fish which the good fathers feed from the hand—and the singular semi-Catholic, semi-barbarous style of costume and manners, would have amply repaid me for my time; but my time would not admit of it, and the day was rainy, else I might have accepted Mr. Hale's mountain-chair, so generously proffered by the British consul." The peak overhanging the monastery is two thousand seven hundred feet above the sea, and with a good glass mountains, rivers, and villages can be seen at great distances. On the extreme point, Europeans who have ascended the mountain have left their memorial in a stone pile, called a *casin*, each adding a piece to the heap.

The population within the walls of the city is about six hundred thousand; that without is about two-thirds of the number, making a total of a million.

The country around is extremely pleasant; the villages are populous, the land undulated, and in some places the scenery is even fine. The Pih-ling Hills offer a very pleasing place of excursion for the Europeans and Americans who reside within the town; these are not numerous, comprising in all about fifty foreign residents, merchants, consuls and their officials, and missionaries. Only three or four ladies were among them at the beginning of 1857. The merchants and consuls complain of the dulness of the place, from the very limited European society. The missionaries alone seem content with what the other foreign residents regard as a trying isolation. Those reverend men are content in their great work, and toil on with unceasing solicitude, studying the language, literature, manners, and character of the people, and watching with unslumbering vigilance for opportunity of bringing the natives to the knowledge of Christianity. Not far from the city a dialect or language is spoken which the Chinese do not understand, but, strangely enough, the Canton English, as it is called, forms a medium of communication.

It will be instructive to the reader to give a few statistics on the exports of Foo-choo-foo:—

EXPORTS FROM FOUCHOW.

TO GREAT BRITAIN.

1853-4.	10 vessels	5,959,000 lbs.
1854-5.	35 vessels	20,493,000 „
1855-6.	20 vessels (July to Jan.)	15,601,500 „

TO THE UNITED STATES.

1853-4.	2 vessels	1,355,000 lbs.
1854-5.	13 vessels	5,500,000 „
1855-6.	14 vessels (July to Jan.)	8,848,500 „

In the season 1853-4 about 300,000 lbs. of tea were exported coastwise.

During the season 1854-5 two vessels were dispatched to Australia, taking 509,000 lbs. of tea, and three vessels out of the thirty-five to England went to the continent, taking 1,140,000 lbs. of tea.

In 1855-6 three vessels were dispatched to Australia; estimated cargoes, 700,000 lbs. To the continent two vessels were dispatched, taking about 400,000 lbs., and coastwise nearly 1,000,000 lbs. were sent during the season.

The Hamburg ship *Alma Ogla* was the first vessel that left Fouchow with teas for a foreign port; she left on the 19th of August, 1853; the American ship *Tsar* followed her on the 27th of August: both bound for London. The last-named arrived first.

The ship *Houqua* was the first vessel to the United States; she left January 16th, 1854, and was followed by the ship *Oriental* on the 22nd of February, and was lost in Kin-pai Pass on the 25th of the same month.

Black teas are the principal exports.*

The neighbourhood of Foo-choo-foo is infested by pirates, and traders require to keep a good look-out, to carry guns, and have a well-appointed crew, practised in small arms. Notwithstanding these precautions, terrible catastrophes have occurred. Sometimes, however, the pirates, even when in dark nights they have, with muffled oars, approached a vessel at anchor, and so escaped the fire of its cannon, have paid a bitter penalty for their temerity under the rifles and revolvers of English or Americans.

Near Foo-choo-foo is a place called Woo-sung, which has only of late attracted the notice of foreigners. Close by this there is a mission village, erected by the American Episcopalians; it contains an excellent house for the bishop, with a dozen other well-built stone erections, which are inhabited by the clergymen, schoolmasters and mistresses, native teachers, medical assistants, &c. The beautiful appearance of the village, amidst the strange monotonous scenery around it, is like an oasis in the desert.

Ningpo is in longitude 121° 22′ east, and in latitude 29° 55′ north. It is the capital of a department and a province, and is considered the finest coast city to which foreigners are allowed access. The Chinese hold it in high reputation for the literary attainment and refinement of its citizens. One-fifth of the whole population within the walls is computed to be engaged in literature. About a tenth of the population beyond the city walls is supposed to consist of sailors and fishermen. The manufactures are chiefly mats, carpets, and cloth, the latter principally woven by women. There are one hundred thousand houses and shops taxed by government. The population within the walls and in the suburbs cannot be less than half a million. The city is surrounded by a wall five miles in circumference, and possessing six gates, which open upon the suburb or the river. Within this wall the people may be said, without a violent figure of speech, to be packed together, so narrow are the streets and dense the population; yet the principal streets, from which the others branch, are spacious, and the houses superior to those in other Chinese cities. Considerable space is occupied by temples and other public buildings, and there are some gardens of considerable extent in proportion to the size of the place; these are beautifully cultivated, and give a fresh and rural appearance to their neighbourhood. The space occupied by these gardens, buildings, and spacious streets, is so considerable, that the dwellings in the remainder of the city are crowded together to afford habitations for so numerous a population. These circumstances also cause the suburbs to increase rapidly.

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* Train.

The people of Ningpo impress strangers more favourably than those of any other Chinese city; they contrast strikingly with the rude and boisterous natives of Canton. Their bearing to strangers is polite, respectful, and, to some extent, kind.

The *Times'* special correspondent arrived at Ningpo at the latter end of August, 1857. The place was then in great agitation, from the depredations made by Portuguese pirates, and their destruction by the Chinese fleet, and also from the consequences of the great rebellion. The correspondent thus records his impressions of the place and its commercial importance:—"This great city, with its three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, its beautiful river, and its excellent water connection with the interior, is the least valuable of all our commercial stations. Neither tea nor silk is brought down in any quantities, and the little tea that is prepared here is sent to Shanghai to be shipped. The importation of British and straits' produce was last year but £136,359 9*s.*, and not two-thirds of this was British manufacture. The greater security of European shipping and its comparative immunity from the pirates outside (whom I saw the other day send a whole fleet of junks back into the river) have given it some importance as a shipping port for Amoy, Formosa, Swatow, and the straits. In 1856 a hundred and ninety-eight British ships, with an aggregate of 25,506 tons, loaded here. This carrying trade is likely to increase, for the Chinese are becoming quite alive to the advantage of a stout ship and an English flag. 'Can insure?' is a question now very often in a Chinaman's mouth, and Chinamen are rich in this city. Ningpo is still in the after-throb of great excitement. The European settlement is on the side of the river opposite to the walled city. The hongs are not numerous, nor very large, and they are mixed up with Chinese residences and large timber yards (timber is the staple of Ningpo), and they form a rectangle, the area behind which is occupied by graves and paddy-fields, but chiefly by graves."

In connection with the opening up of China to European intercourse, the gentleman referred to declares that the difficulties are not so great as has been supposed in Europe. Before reaching the city of Ningpo he had travelled many miles by the great water-courses, and he thus observes upon the general experience of Chinese behaviour which his journey afforded:—"We arrived at Ningpo, after some discomfort and some necessity for strong doses of quinine, but after much excitement and great enjoyment. We have passed four hundred miles of country not often before traversed. We have entered four first-class Chinese cities (two of them unknown to European travellers), many second class cities, which in other countries might be classed as first, and innumerable towns and villages. Throughout the whole of our journey we have received from no Chinese an uncivil word or insulting gesture. No mischievous urchin has thrown stones down upon us from any one of the hundreds of bridges we passed through; no one stopped us, and no one waylaid us. It is true that the mandarins at Peh-Kwan sent us a message to appear at their yamun, but when we sent answer that we would endeavour to make preparation to receive their visit on board our boats, and when Mr. Edkins had sent them a Testament, they took the evasive answer in good part, and suffered our boatmen to proceed. From this journey I draw two practical conclusions: the first is, that the authorities in China are exceedingly anxious in no way to complicate their present disputes with England, and, holding in very wholesome terror the English name, are inclined to shut their eyes to the presence of peaceably conducted foreigners; the second is, that, unless excited by the authorities, as they have been at Canton (and as they might have been here, for had the mandarins chosen to say we were Portuguese, we should certainly have had our throats cut), the Chinese people have no objection whatever to the presence of foreigners in their cities. Whenever, therefore, the provisions of a new treaty shall open all China to every European provided with a passport from his own consul, there will be no difficulty in the English merchant carrying his own goods up the rivers and canals, and into the great cities of China

The people will be glad enough to trade with him, and the authorities can, if they will, protect him."

There is, however, a difficulty in the way of European intercourse with China which is seldom discussed—the bad conduct of the Europeans themselves. The foregoing extract shows the spirit entertained towards the Portuguese, whose conduct is in every respect infamous in their dealings with the people of China. The behaviour of British sailors is sometimes also very bad, and creates a dangerous prejudice. The following instance, related by "the correspondent," will illustrate this, and the recommendation he expresses for the prevention of such misdeeds is worthy the consideration of the powers now engaged, by their successful arms, in opening up China more freely to the nations:—"A circumstance has just occurred which still further illustrates the great impolicy of allowing European vagabonds to be uncontrolled in this country. 'Squeezing' has become so intolerable in this province, that a large city not forty miles distant is in rebellion. Every power in China 'squeezes.' The toutai sends forth to 'squeeze,' the the Canton fleet sends out to 'squeeze,' and squeezing parties are undertaken upon private account. A few days since an Irishman, accompanied by some Chinese, went into the interior to one of the villages where I had passed the previous night, upon, it is alleged, a squeezing expedition. While there he accidentally shot one of his Chinese companions. Delighted with this opportunity of 'getting the law on their side,' the populace rose, seized the Irishman, bound him as though he had been a wild beast which no thongs could make harmless, and sent him up—after severe debate among themselves whether they should not behead him on the spot—to the toutai of Ningpo. He arrived here in a terribly macerated condition, and claimed the protection of the British consul. Doubtless it became the consul's duty to grant this protection, and the man is now in Dr. Parker's hospital. Small advantage, however, will be derived by any British merchant from any treaty which may 'open up China,' if it is to be opened up to European brigands. There must be some arrangement among the European powers upon this matter."

The port of Amoy, Hong-Kong, &c., will be reserved for description under the head of Insular China.

Besides the ports opened up by the Nankin treaty, there are many other large cities in China which might be made accessible to commerce under an enlarged treaty, and there are many large villages so admirably situated, that they would, under the influence of Western commerce, soon become great cities.

The *Times*' correspondent, in travelling to Ningpo, passed through a great variety of country, and over a vast area where Europeans had never previously set foot, at least within recollection of the inhabitants or record of history, and the general impressions he received are instructive to others. The following is a picture of China and Chinese life, drawn from the scenes presented to him as he passed along, too vivid and striking not to be interesting as a true representation of modern China. Leaving Hangchow for Ningpo, the journey is thus related:—"I should prove intolerable were I to describe the rest of the route with the same minuteness with which I have described other portions of my journey. We had five days' journey before us, the greater part even less visited than Hangchow itself. I must not even venture to describe the sepulchre of Yu, the founder of the Hia dynasty, although it is the grandest sepulchral temple in China, and boasts an antiquity of two thousand years, and although a fierce thunderstorm burst so close, that there was a smell of fire, and the gigantic idol trembled. Perhaps I may be permitted, however, to say, that nearly a hundred lineal descendants of the great emperor, who controlled the great inundations and curbed the waters of the four great rivers, still live in poverty under the protection of the temple. Under the Ming dynasty they received pensions; the Tartars allow them none. Here is a pedigree, ye followers of Rollo! Enough to say of Peh-Kwan that the people asked us whether we were Siamese. They had seen the Loochooians, and we were not like them, and they knew we were not Japanese. Chao-hing is for many miles round girt with sepulchral monuments. It is to the worship of ancestors what Hangchow and its lake are to Buddha. All the wharves and bridges were crowded by all the population of the place as we went through. The half-naked bodies seemed countless as we moved slowly through canals exactly—bridges, smells, and all—like some of the back canals in Venice. We passed several nights among the most uncultivated crowds of boatmen while awaiting our turns to be dragged by windlasses over those dykes of slippery mud which in China do duty for locks. We passed other nights in passing through lakes and listening to the songs and cymbals which told of marriages in the villages on its banks. We watched the paddy harvest, examined the tallow-trees, with their poplar-like leaf, their green berries, and their alder-shaped form. We saw the cotton come into flower. We fired in vain at two eagles circling round the head of a man, who was accompanied by a little dog, which they wanted to carry off. We stopped and interrogated a sort of Chinese Gil Blas, who was travelling on foot (almost an unprecedented thing in China), and who carried with him all his worldly goods—a pair of blue breeches, a pipe, and a small teapot. We investigated at Yu-Yoa the country from the top of the citadel hill, and in the dyer's shop we examined the dye wherewith those ever-present blue breeches are dyed. After ten days of sight-seeing everything seemed to repeat itself and to revolve like the events of the Platonic year. We became convinced at last that if we were to journey from Hangchow to Pekin, and from Pekin to Szechuen, we should find just the same arts, and manners, and agriculture, varied only by the exigencies of nature."

One of the most important cities of the interior of China proper is Hangchow. This was once the capital, and Chinese patriotism and prejudice still regard it with fictitious importance and religious veneration. They have a saying—"There is Heaven above, and Pekin and Hangchow below." Descriptions of this city are scarce; that of Marco Polo is not worthy of reliance; and we have no European accounts, except that given by the *Times'* commissioner of a visit made by him and the Rev. Mr. Edkins, of the London Missionary Society. Marco Polo says the walls were in his day a hundred miles round. The Chinese chronicles of the city state that in one of the numerous fires which have taken place there more than half a million of houses were burnt. The writer just quoted maintains that the city never could have been much larger than it is, and assigns this reason:—"It stands upon a slip of land about three miles wide, intervening between the river (which is wider than the Mersey, and has thirty feet of water at low tide) and the lake. At one end the ground swells into a hill, over the crest of which the city wall passes. The shape of Hangchow, therefore, is very much that of a couch, the hill part being represented by the pillows, and being the fashionable part of the city." The vicinity is unhealthy, fever and ague being caused by the vast quantities of stagnant water collected near it, and by the decomposition of vegetable matter on the river's banks. The environs contain some good scenery, and very populous villages, adorned with temples and pagodas, lie in every direction. It is strictly forbidden to Europeans to enter this city, but the *Times'* correspondent, accompanied by two missionaries (the Rev. Mr. Edkins, and the representative of the Church Missionary Society), determined upon the hazardous enterprise. The account given of its accomplishment is deeply interesting, and even exciting:—"With a retinue of twelve chair-bearers and ten coolies, who followed with our baggage, we left our boats during the mid-day heat, and, skirting the borders of the lake, reached the walls of the city. Here Mr. Edkins, profiting by his other mishaps, instructed the party to avoid the Tartar part of the city and the Mauchoo gate. It was an exciting moment when the first palanquin passed under the city gate. From behind my exaggerated fan I could see a fat Chinese official, who was evidently on duty, but who had his back turned to us. The rascal pretended he was quite unaware of our presence. I found out afterwards that he knew that three Englishmen were passing in just as well as we did. I breathed more freely when the gate was passed, and when we became entangled in the narrow streets. They bore us through the dirtiest parts of the town, and past the *yamun*, or police office, known by the horrible imperial lion scrawled in paint upon the opposite wall. The people soon began to run together. The blinds of the chairs were sufficiently transparent to allow them to see there was something unusual; perhaps the fact of the chairs being closed was enough in itself. Then we grew bolder, and opened the blinds, and, although the crowd pressed to see, there was no hostile demonstration. At last we got to a better part of the city, we boldly descended, and found ourselves in the streets of Hangchow. We now bade one of the coolies guide us to the upper part of the city, while the chairs followed. We passed several curiosity shops, where there were some few things I should have bought, but, alas! our expenses had so far exceeded our expectation, that we were already afraid our funds would fall short—a contingency which actually occurred, for we had to borrow of a Chinese innkeeper. I noticed that in one of the curiosity shops an English beer-bottle was placed among the vases in a post of honour. As we ascended the hill we passed a tea-house, which was the first I had seen in China having any pretensions to ornament. This was evidently the Vérey of Hangchow. A mandarin chair was following us, and we drew up to allow the gentleman to overtake us. In evident perturbation, he stopped his chair, and went into one of the temples, where he doubtless expended some cash in incense to be delivered from the barbarians. We were now among joss-houses and private residences, which I had seen from the pagoda hill, and from the terrace we could see down into the courts and houses of the lower city. It was a holiday in Hangchow: there were shows going on. We had heard much firing in the morning, and we now learnt that there had been a review of eight thousand troops, and our informants added with much laughter that one of the evolutions had been to make the soldiers charge right into the river up to their armpits. In this part of Hangchow we were less thronged than I had ever been before in China. There was no apparent obstacle to our going where we pleased or doing what we pleased. We did not venture into the theatre, for we knew by experience, at a sing-song on the bank of the lake, that the Chinese ladies, with their smart robes, their painted faces (white and red upon their cheeks, and vermillion on their lips, little enamelled stars beside their eyes, and black upon their eyebrows), would almost jump out of their boxes with fright; while the populace would throng about us, and the actors would stand still, and stare like the rest. Being a little overcome by the sun, I strolled away by myself back to the tea-house, and took my place at a little table as complacently as I should on one of the boulevards; the tea was exquisite—that slightly-dried, small, green leaf, which you never can taste in England; for tea will not keep, or pack, or stand the voyage unless burnt up to the state of insipidity in which we get it. I sipped, and was refreshed; but the sweet tranquillity was not mine. The curious tea-drinkers pressed around me, and there was a waiter, whose nature it was to walk about with a kettle of boiling water, and whose unconquerable instinct compelled him to fill up my cup whenever it was getting three degrees below boiling-point, and was becoming possible to drink. The people were very good-tempered, but they came very close, and the day was very hot. I was so strict in my Chinese costume, that they could find nothing to wonder at but my *physique* and my pith hat. They made the most of these. If I had been dressed in European costume, I believe they would have undressed me in their ardent curiosity. Meantime our coolies and luggage had been stopped at the gate we passed through. The officials told my man that we had acted wrong in not presenting our cards and the Foo-tei's pass, but it was not their business, but that of another officer, to stop foreigners. They do not wish to stop Englishmen's luggage, but look into the servants' boxes. They asked where the Englishmen were gone, and were satisfied when told that we had gone up the hill 'to chinchin joss.' All this talk about cards and passes was of course Chinese tarradiddles, but it shows that the Chinese authorities were perfectly aware that they had three Englishmen among them. I could find no silk weaving in the city, but there must be quarters like the suburbs of Lyons, for this is the very centre and depot of the silk district. After several hours in Hangchow we got into our chairs again, and passed through the opposite gate of the city, along a dirty faubourg, and over a flat to the Tsien-tang River, which is here about two miles wide. There is a little custom-house, but no ships and no commerce. Hangchow evidently depends upon its inland trade, and seeks no communication by sea. As we crossed the broad river I looked back up this picturesque city, and felt that its environs were as familiar as those of Liverpool, Cheltenham, or Richmond."

The cities on the plain from Shanghai to Ningpo very much resemble one another. The people are employed for the most part similarly: they regard Europeans with intense curiosity, and although not eager for an open trade with them, would readily respond to any attempts at traffic if the mandarins would permit them.

The city of Ting-tse is the only other great city of China of which much certain information exists. It is surrounded by a narrow wall and "wet ditch," and a small canal runs through it. It has four gates into the suburbs, and a water-gate for boats which bring goods into the city: these discharge their cargoes at the mouth of a small river, communicating with a canal which runs through the place. The upper classes of females are remarkable for their small feet and their extravagant use of cosmetics and paint. In their temples they are generally attended by a female servant or bondwoman, who carries a little basket containing articles of the toilet. During the religious services the ladies retire to withdrawing-rooms in connection with the building, where there are mirrors, before which they carefully place themselves, re-arrange their attire, and re-tint their lips, cheeks, and eyebrows.* In this city, more than in any other in China, the Chinese women compress the feet of their female children, although the Tartars of the same city allow the feet of their females to be properly developed.† The timidity of the women in the surrounding country at the sight of a European is ludicrous. General Alexander declares, that whatever be the extent of infanticide in China, and however inveterate the custom, the women of this city are affectionate to their children.

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* Lieutenant-general Alexander, C.B.

† *Reminiscences of a Visit to the Celestial Empire.*

Such is China proper, its people, and its cities—a country with which our future connection is likely to be more important and intimate, as the present war cannot fail to issue in the concession, by the Chinese, of more extended communication with foreigners.

Beyond the boundaries of China proper immense regions are included in the imperial territories. To the north is MONGOLIA, the most remarkable physical feature of which is the great desert called Gobi: the word *gobi* is a Mongol term to express a naked desert. It extends from the sources of the Amour through Mongolia into Little Bokhara and Thibet, from north-east to south-west. It is nearly two thousand miles in length, the average breadth being under five hundred miles. This vast region does not appear to be appropriately named, for it is not really a *gobi*, or naked desert: there are fine pasture lands within its area. There are large districts of sands which do not shift, and which are covered in some places sparsely, in others thickly, with rank grass. There are many small saline lakes within its confines. The central portion is the true desert, and its extent is vast. The whole district is on an average two thousand feet above the level of the sea. Parts of it are double that elevation, and over the very highest for some way the route lies for the caravans to and from the Russian frontier: these have to traverse a waste of shifting sands, most laborious to pass through. Accidents sometimes occur, attended by loss of life; and blindness, total or partial, is frequently an incident of the toilsome journey.

The Mongols are nomadic—no reliable accounts of their numbers can be obtained. Their religion is Buddhist, and many of them are followers of the Grand Lama of Thibet. They are governed by tribal chiefs, by the spiritual authority of the Lama, and by a council of foreign affairs at Pekin.

The capital of Mongolia is Ourga, situated on an affluent of the Selinga River. Karakoum was the capital when the successors of Zenghlis Khan held their court, and presided over a vast empire. When Kohlai Khan conquered China, at the end of the thirteenth century, this city was permitted to sink into decay.

Maimachu, on the frontier of Asiatic Russia, is an important place: it is there that the Russians and Chinese transact the commercial exchanges between the two empires. The town is not large; it is clean and orderly. The boundary between the two empires is marked by a long shed, within which commercial transactions are conducted. A door from this shed on the north side opens into the Russian empire, and, on the south side, another opens into the Chinese empire. Beneath that shed the teas and rhubarb of China are exchanged for Polish linens, woollen cloths, and furs. Several German travellers have penetrated from the Russian dominions into those of China on this frontier, and some of them relate that the contrast presented by the habits, manners, and appearance of the people on different sides of the frontier line is very surprising.*

East of Mongolia, and north-east of China, is MANTCHOORIA: this region is mountainous, and nearly covered with forests. The mighty river Amour waters this country. Its population is scanty: the Mantchoos are more civilised than neighbouring tribes. The capital is Kirin-oula, where the viceroy resides. The northern half of the large island of Saghalien, off the north-east coast, is committed to his government. The reigning family of the Chinese empire is Mantchoo: they have held the imperial sceptre for two hundred years.

Southward from Mantchooria is the peninsula of COREA. This is a quasi-independent kingdom, the Chinese emperor never interfering with its government, but exacting a tribute. Corea is more exclusive in reference to foreigners than China. Its capital, situated in the centre of the peninsula, is King-ki-too.

West of Mongolia, and north-west of China, are the countries of the CELESTIAL MOUNTAINS, which divides two territories called Thian-shan-pe-loo, or the north country, and Thian-shan-nan-loo, or the south country. The northern region is sometimes called Sangaria—the southern, Little Bokhara; and frequently both regions are described together as Chinese Turkistan. The country at both sides of the dividing range is well watered and fertile. The Chinese hold military possession of the country, and collect revenue, but leave the people to manage their own affairs, who are of the same race, and religion as the Turks of Europe and Asia Minor.

On the northern side of the Celestial Mountains the town of Goulja is of importance, and the chief town of the province. On the south side there are several cities of note. The capital is Aksou, where the Chinese authorities preside. Yarkand possesses a considerable population and commerce. The frontier town of Kashgar is occupied by a large Chinese garrison. All these places are situated on branches of the great Yarkand River.

On the west of Mongolia is THIBET, extending to the borders of those states which are dependent upon the government of British India, or have been recently annexed to it. The Chinese give to the whole region west of Mongolia the name of Chinghai, which is probably the same as the words China and Chinese. The Mongols of the Koka-nor, and other tribes, inhabit portions of these vast territories, but all submit to the government of Pekin, of which there is more awe than is felt in China proper, or in Pekin itself. Writers on the geography and history of China generally describe the country called Lodakh, on the northern frontier of India, as independent of the Pekin government; but its independence is merely nominal.

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* Erman.

The wide-spread countries west of Mongolia are bounded by the Kuenlun and Himalaya mountain systems, and consist of lofty plains. The declivities of the Himalayas on the side of Thibet are not steep, although on the side of India the country descends with so deep a depression. Very little is known of these countries: the court of Pekin is even more jealous of strangers crossing from the Indian frontier than of persons penetrating into China proper by sea.

Many of the mighty rivers which water Eastern and Southern Asia have their sources in these regions. It is remarkable that the Ganges, Indus, Brahmapootra, Sutlej, and Irriwaddy, receive their waters from springs on the northern side of the Himalayas; the streams, as they seek the level, winding their course to the southern slopes, and finally sweeping onward in increasing volume to the sultry plains of India. The great rivers Yang-tse-Kiang, Hoang-ho, and Cambodia, which take a south-eastern course, also have their sources in the great western Mongolian highlands.

The language of Thibet is not so monosyllabic as the Chinese, and is supposed to be a link between it and the Semitic tongues: the Thibetians profess it to be derived from the Sanscrit.*

The religion of Thibet and Mongolia is Buddhism. The Grand Lama is the spiritual chief of Thibet. It is believed by the people that he has maintained his spiritual reign at the capital ever since a period corresponding with the Christian era.† This is supposed to be accomplished by a series of transformations, as when one lama dies, the spirit of Buddha Lakya is transferred to another body. This is ascertained by a series of revelations vouchsafed to certain hierarchs, after many ceremonies of an absurd kind, and while the sacred vehicles of revelation are in a state of intoxication by a particular spirit. The Emperor of China, however, takes care to hold in his own hands the confirmation of the election, lest it should fall upon any person inconvenient to his government. If no objection be entertained by his celestial majesty, the new incarnation of Buddha is installed in his high office, and becomes the Dela* Lama. The general impression in Europe is that this is the only functionary of this sort in the world: such an impression is erroneous. There are three in Bhotan, who are clothed in white; and three in Mongolia and Thibet, of whom the Dela Lama is one, clothed in yellow: the latter is the orthodox colour, being patronised by the Emperor of China. The great Mongol lama is of still higher authority than the Dela Lama,† but he appears to derive that superiority from the policy of the Chinese emperor: the Dela Lama is more reverenced throughout Thibet, and is adored as a god.‡ Every chief of a great Buddhist convent appears to obtain the title of lama; but the Grand Lama at Lassa, and the Lama of Tehoo Loomboo, are the supreme hierarchs of Buddhism.

The intercourse between Thibet and British India is considerable, so far as the influx of Thibetians—or, as the Hindoos call them, Bhotians§—is concerned, for the inhabitants resort to all the great places of pilgrimage in Bengal, such as Orissa, Gaya, Benares, Allahabad, &c. They believe that Benares is the seat of supreme learning, that "the holy city" is the source of all science and literature, and that the people of Thibet derived religion and learning originally from India. Of this there is no proof, but such a belief may well prevail from the superstitious regard cherished for India, in consequence of the religion of Thibet having been derived thence. On one of the highest accessible peaks of the Himalayas the Thibetians mingle with pilgrims from all parts of India, and even from Ceylon, to perform various rites together, which would appear to be incompatible with two religions so adverse as Buddhism and Brahminism in many respects are. This circumstance has excited the surprise of authors and travellers, but the philosophy of it appears to be that all striking phenomena of nature—mountains, river sources, junctions of rivers, lakes, desert rocks, forests, and the heavenly bodies—receive homage in the idolatrous associations common to all Asia, whatever the creeds of the people, except where Christianity or Mohammedanism has extirpated the traditional feeling.

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* Captain Turner.

† Abdul Russool.

* This word signifies both a sea and a desert, and probably refers to the appearance of the great plains of Thibet, the sphere of the lama's government. John Bell's *Travels in Asia*.

† M. De Lange, Representative of the Court of Russia at Pekin, 1721-22.

‡ *Histoire Genealogique des Tartares*.

§ As remarked on a former page, the Hindoos call both sides of the whole Himalaya range Bhotia: they do not use the word Thibet.—*Rennell*.

Commerce also brings the people of Thibet into intimate intercourse with the frontier nations of British India. Through Nepaul, Bhotia, and Assam, the products of Thibet are exchanged for those of the rich provinces of Hindoostan and Bengal. Many of the productions of India find their way to China by way of Thibet.

There is also a considerable trade between Mongolia and Russia, and it would be far more extensive but for the encroaching spirit of the Russians, who are always intruding upon Chinese territory in the most unscrupulous manner, and in violation of numerous treaties. A writer at the beginning of this century thus describes the method of carrying on the commerce between Mongolia, through which the produce of Thibet and of China proper is conveyed to the Russian frontier:—"The commerce between Russia and China is at present a monopoly belonging to the treasury of Siberia, no other subjects of Russia being allowed to concern themselves in it, on pain of death, unless employed on account of the crown, although this law is often evaded by connivance of the *weywodes* on the frontier places. By virtue of the last treaty, they can send no more than one caravan a year from Russia to Pekin, which doth not consist of more than two hundred persons instead of a thousand and more, which they amounted to heretofore, and which were subsisted at the charge of the Chan of China whilst they were on the territories of China; but now they are to subsist on their own charges."[*] The last-named feature of this regulation was by Russian authority, and shows that while every effort was made by the czars to plunder the Chinese of their Mongolian territory, commerce was even less encouraged sixty years ago than it had before been.

In the days of Peter the Great, the Russian government made strenuous efforts to open up through Mongolia a traffic by which they might derive the products of that country, of Thibet (generally included under the name of Mongolia), and of the lower provinces, in exchange for their furs, which the Russians then possessed more abundantly as a means of barter. The Chinese responded as eagerly to such overtures, and a commercial intercourse was established, which, had Russia improved, would have grown to great magnitude, and which has been checked solely by the greed of territory, which led the Russians perpetually to ferment boundary disputes, provoking on the part of the Chinese counteracting measures.

The Chinese at that time, according to the testimony of Peter's own agent resident at Pekin, brought many articles of exchange to the frontier. Gold from Thibet, ivory and peacocks' feathers brought by the Thibetians from India, and woollen cloth of two qualities—one a fine fleecy commodity, the other rough and coarse—made in Thibet and other Mongolian districts, were conveyed to the rendezvous of Russian commerce, through long and wearisome journeys. A sort of glazed cotton cloth, called *kitaika*, made in China, was at that time a favourite Russian import.

It appears that the productions of Corea were brought by a very circuitous route through China, at that period consisting of paper made of raw silk; fine mats; cut tobacco, very fine, for smoking, deemed superior to that grown in China; striped cotton stuffs, &c. It would appear, also, that while the Chinese imported furs from the Russians, they also received furs from Corea, which were given in exchange for Russian furs. The Russians received Chinese damask, Indian cotton goods by way of Thibet, tea, porcelain, silk for linings, and "white copper" dishes.[*]

The intercourse between Thibet and China proper, and the government of the former, was regulated by a minister who resided at Lassa, whose approval was necessary before any measure, political or commercial, could be adopted. This functionary was, however, obliged to refer to Pekin for instructions and for final approval of any measures to which he gave his consent. "The council for the affairs of the Mongols at Pekin is a college, who have the care of everything regarding the nation of the Mongols, as well those who are the hereditary subjects of the Emperor of China, as also those who are only under the protection of this empire. This college, at the same time, enters indirectly into the cognizance of all the affairs which regard the powers who border on China, from the north-east to the west, whence it comes that they are the court who have most to do of any in China."[†]

In explanation of this mode of governing remote provinces and dependencies, De Lange in 1723 writes:—"In China all is done by the disposition of different colleges, to whose cognizance the affairs may belong, it not being permitted to address the court directly upon any affair whatever. In the time of the last Chinese emperor, these colleges were so absolute, that, on many occasions, the emperor himself dared not meddle with their decrees; but, since the Tartar princes have been in possession of the throne of China, they are not much regarded; witness the exercise of all sorts of foreign religions publicly authorised, and the allowance of a Russian agent at Pekin, agreed to by the sole good pleasure of the emperor, in opposition to the remonstrances of his ministers, and to the constitution of the government of China." The emperors have ever since maintained a stern authority in reference to these colleges.

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[*] Bell.

[*] M. De Lange.

[†] This description of the conduct of Mongolian affairs at Pekin was given by a minister of Peter the Great of Russia, and it is still applicable.

The people of Thibet are loyal to the Chinese emperor, religion being the great connecting link. They are not brave or enterprising, and would be very unlikely to make a successful insurrection. A few thousand Chinese soldiers, in half-a-dozen garrisons, occupy the country. A considerable army could, however, be collected on an emergency, as the Nepaulese found to their cost, on occasion of their invasion of Thibet. The social condition of the people is very immoral: polyandria exists, and similar in every respect to its practice at Ceylon, and with the same moral consequences. The Thibetians, however, are not jealous, as are the Cingalese; on the contrary, the infidelity of the women excites neither surprise nor resentment. The Thibetians are cold and phlegmatic in all their habits, and are sunk in the most abject superstition.

The climate is sternly cold for a large portion of the year, and the country is exposed to fierce winds, which sweep over the vast elevated table-lands, dispersing the thin soil, and often totally destroying the hopes of the cultivator. There are, however, many places low-lying and sheltered, where the climate is most delightful; and on the northern and eastern slopes of the Himalayas there are regions where the scenery and the climate rival those of most lands. There are sequestered dells and dales in these regions, the floral riches of which almost rival those of the sunny valleys on the southern declivities.

The revenue of the country is derived from land-rent and the gold mines, which are badly worked.* The mineral treasures of the region are supposed to be very great, but are not yet developed. Nitre is found in great abundance, and most metals in moderate quantities, except silver. On the frontiers of China proper there are coal mines, which are of immense value to the people, for Thibet is very bare of timber, and the climate requires the extensive use of fuel.

The animals are very various, and some of them very beautiful. The celebrated shawl-goat, and different species of sheep and deer abound.

Lassa is the capital of this region: it is forty-five days' journey from Pekin, and two hundred miles north from the north-east corner of Assam. It is geographically situated 29° 30′ north latitude, 91° 6′ east longitude. It is built on the north bank of a small river, and is of an oval form, four miles in length, and one in breadth. In the centre stands the grand temple, the high sanctuary of Buddhism. Each idol of the numerous objects of worship collected there has its own peculiar compartment. Around this collection of buildings a road separates it from the rest of the city. There is always a population of about two thousand Chinese, about three thousand Nepaulese, and a few hundred Cashmerians, besides the natives. It is impossible to estimate the native population, as pilgrims from the whole of Thibet perpetually crowd the place, and also numerous devotees from every part of Mongolia, of China, and all the realms of Buddhism. The Tartars appear to have invaded and plundered the city repeatedly, but never remained long. Little can be gleaned of its history, or of that of the race which inhabits it.

Within one hundred and eighty miles of the Rungpore district in Bengal there is a small town, called Teshoo Loomboo, where a great Buddhist monastery gives the place notoriety, and where the "Teshoo Lama" has his seat: he is the high priest of the Chinese emperor. This neighbourhood is more fertile and civilised, and some timber grows there. There are mines of lead, cinnabar, copper, and gold, in the hills which bound the great plain upon which the city stands. Nearly four thousand *gylongs* were occupied in daily prayer towards the close of the last century, when Captain Turner visited it: this number has probably increased since.

Throughout Thibet, and Little Thibet, and Lahdack, the number of monasteries and nunneries containing devotees of the Buddhist belief is surprising: the number of gods and saints mingled in strange variance with the theory of the Buddhist creed exceeds computation, and justifies the statement that Thibet is one of the most superstitious countries on the face of the globe. The accounts given by Macartney and Colebrook apply as correctly in the present day as when they were written, for everything in Thibet is as it were stereotyped, except that the gods, the saints, and the monasteries, increase in number, and the people in superstition. Nevertheless, the country exercises a vast influence over other regions of Asia. China regards Thibet as holy land: the Mongols, Calmucks, and Tartars, hold it in the greatest reverence. The Thibetians declare that to them the Chinese are indebted for science and art, while they speak of India as the source from which they derived these advantages. They claim to be the inventors of printing, and to have taught it to the Chinese; but they admit that no improvement in this art has been made for two thousand years. They declare that astronomy, and astrology, which they regard as a noble science, have flourished in their country from time immemorial, and that the Chinese were their pupils in these matters. A British officer, who visited Thibet some years ago, stated that the monks discoursed with him about the satellites of Jupiter and the ring of Saturn, and that they were familiar with stellar phenomena to a degree which greatly astonished him. An invasion of Thibet from British India would issue in the subjugation with ease of the whole realm, for however impracticable long marches in such a country, yet facility of conquest would exist in the fact, that whoever possesses the sacred cities, and the persons of the lamas, are the conquerors of Thibet.

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* Abdul Russool.

Having described the vast regions beyond China proper, Insular China remains to be noticed. The insular climate of China is less subject to the extremes of heat and cold than that of the continent. The islands which are of most importance are Formosa, Hainan, Chusan, Hong-Kong, Heang-shan, and Amoy.

FORMOSA lies off the east coast, and from its comparative proximity to the Malay peninsula, its eastern shore is inhabited by that race, who are generally regarded as aborigines: the western side of the island is inhabited by the Chinese. The population at large, especially on the eastern shore, is regarded by the inhabitants of China as barbarous. The word Formosa means beautiful, and was given to the island by the Portuguese, because of its lovely appearance. Coal in great abundance has been recently found upon it.

HAINAN is an island situated on the southern coast, inhabited partly by Chinese, and partly by aboriginal tribes. There is nothing sufficiently striking in the characteristics of the island to call for remark.

HEANG-SHAN is an island in the Canton River. The Portuguese settlement of Macao, called by the Chinese *Aou-mun* (the entrance to the bay), is situated upon part of the island which forms a peninsula. The site of the settlement was given to the Portuguese by the emperor nearly three hundred years ago, in consequence of services rendered by them against pirates. The poet Camoens resided at Macao, and wrote there his celebrated poem "the Lusiad." The population is about thirty thousand. The general conduct of the Portuguese settlers has been fraudulent and rapacious, and much of the ill will entertained by the natives of Canton against foreigners has been caused by their cruel and treacherous conduct. The Portuguese residents of Macao are not more than six thousand: the rest of the population are half-castes and Chinese. Few places which, within a century and a half, have been the scenes of enterprise, are so deserted and fallen as is this settlement. Formerly it was one of the richest emporiums of the East: now Hong-Kong seems to have extinguished its commercial glory. A few English and other foreign merchants are almost the only persons respected by the natives, so completely have the Portuguese lost character.

It is common for the foreign merchants of Canton and Hong-Kong to spend the hottest summer months on this island: there is a beautiful bathing place, and large although not well-built houses are easily procured, and cheaply rented. The foreign and Parsee burial-grounds are picturesque, especially the former: how enterprising are those old Persian devotees of the sun!—there are few places in the East which are ancient haunts of commerce where their traces or their presence are not seen. It is surprising that Europeans think so favourably of Macao in a sanitary point of view, for the atmosphere is damp, and a chilly feeling is consequently imparted to the residents even when the glass is high: it is also common for foreigners to die soon after their arrival, especially if young men.

The Portuguese population is considered devoid of the activity which once characterised them. They are much deteriorated in personal appearance, especially the females, who have coarse countenances and very dark complexions. The streets are little better than gloomy narrow alleys, and, being sometimes of great length, the appearance they present is peculiarly unpleasant. There are palaces and public buildings, formerly the abodes of bishops and governors of rank, or the resort of merchants and men of business, but these are all dropping, little by little, into decay. The Portuguese deserve credit for the architectural beauty of these buildings, particularly of a church, the front of which is alone left standing. Beautiful walks, parades and gardens, all which were once beautiful, also testify to the taste which once characterised the Portuguese of Macao. The parades are partially broken, deep ruts are allowed to deface the once-pleasant walks, and the gar-

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dens already assume that waste and ragged appearance which the fairest pleasure-grounds so soon wear when left without suitable care. The house of Camoens, who sang before Shakspere's "wild notes," as Milton called them, were heard in England, is still standing, although time, with his furrowing finger, has touched it. The fortifications bristle with cannon, but they are worthless; a few British broadsides would leave them heaps of rubbish. A gentleman who lately visited the island and city thus wrote of some of the features of interest which mark them:—"To me the old palace garden, with so many acres of still blooming flowers and foliage, and paths winding through quaint arbours and huge stone caves,—more solid than the artificial ruins of Bolton Abbey or Chatsworth,—was the most pleasing part of my tour. I was never tired of musing over the grounds, but did not remain long soliloquising over the iron-walled monument of the poet Camoens. I did not expect to find such old magnificence, but ruins of ages past do not at such distance from Christian lands increase my love of decay. From the top of one of the mammoth stone arbours we had a fine view of the old town and the inner and outer harbour; the former is stocked with junks and lorchas belonging to the place, and the yearly income of the latter in freights alone is said to be a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. We saw the islands round about, and were glad to look upon scenery as romantic as it was novel."*

The same traveller gives a picture of how the coolie traffic—or what may be with propriety be termed the Chinese slave trade—is patronised by the Portuguese, who have ever been the active abettors of the slave trade in all its forms:—"Looking down upon the Chinese part of the town, I saw a large castellated building, the courtyard of which was crowded with human beings dressed in white. My curiosity was excited. Was it an hospital? No. A lunatic asylum? No. A jail, a charity-school, or what? No one could tell. We searched and searched, but could not make the people understand our wants; finally, we got a boat, and moved round to the portcullis, but there was no admittance. Inquiry only made us more curious, but not more successful, until at last a friend relieved us of suspense, and told us that of course no one was permitted to enter—it was a private institution, being the place where a princely merchant stows away his coolies until they are ready for shipment! When I saw them from the garden highlands it was probably feeding-time. At Whampoa they use a hulk for this purpose. Poor wretches! they little know what is to be their fate."

While Mr. Train remained at Macao he witnessed a custom which he saw in other parts of China, the description of which is striking:—"We came back through the Chinese town, where with restless activity mechanics were working at their respective trades, shopmen were doing a thriving business, while barbers were never busier; there were music and dancing, with the sing-song artists, never more enthusiastic, and the pawnbrokers were crowded to suffocation, for to-morrow is the Chinaman's New Year, and hence the unusual bustle and excitement in the town: before midnight all accounts must be squared, all books balanced, all bills paid, and debtor and creditor must meet as friends, for it is the custom of China to close up the papers and make a clean breast of finance matters at the commencement of every new year. At every turn I see anxious faces, and men rushing with some little trinket to the Shylock's den, in order to raise a little more cash. There are many who know not what to do, for their pockets are empty, and their debts unpaid, and something must be done before the clock strikes twelve, or else they are disgraced in the eyes of their countrymen. Some bear the marks of desperation on their faces, and hence robbery or murder, perhaps suicide, ere the bell tolls the fatal hour; for 'tis no unusual thing to resort to violent measures if all else fail, and there be bills unpaid. What a strange custom! and yet it is universally followed from the sea-coast to the limits of Tartary. If Western nations balanced accounts as often, there would be less rottenness in finance, and more honesty in commerce. Here, at least, the idol worshipper teaches a lesson it were well if we would learn."

The island of Amoy affords an important position for any European power desirous of having a naval and military post off the Chinese coast; for it is well situated in reference to the great ports, and possesses a comparatively equable climate. The London press, particularly "the leading journal," strongly urged upon the government of Lord Derby, in 1858, the occupation of this island as a post for the security of English commerce. The island is about twelve miles in length, and ten in breadth, and contains within that small area a hundred and thirty villages and hamlets, and a population of nearly half a million persons. The city contains nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants; it is called after the island.

This little island is very picturesque, the surface being undulated from the sea-shore to

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* *Young America Abroad.*

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
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a central rocky ridge of considerable elevation, upon the top of which there is a well cultivated table-land several miles square. The rock is black, of a grey tint when broken, but that tint gives place to black after exposure to the atmosphere. The port is capable of holding one thousand vessels.

The city is situated in latitude 24° 32′ north, and longitude 118° 8′ east. It is built on a promontory, so as to expose three sides to the sea, and is necessarily long and straggling. The citadel is surrounded by a wall one mile in circumference. The palace and gardens of the Se-tak occupy a considerable portion of the inner city, beyond the wall of which dirty narrow lanes and low ill-constructed houses stretch away in every direction. The Chinese authorities are peculiarly strict in not allowing foreigners to traverse the island, insisting that "the day's journey," which, according to the treaty, was to be allowed for purposes of inland business at the ports, being interpreted to mean from sunrise to sunset. No foreigner is allowed to spend a night in any of the villages, yet the people of these villages have shown a more free disposition to foreigners, and especially to missionaries, than has been shown elsewhere. The local authorities are also very friendly, but the orders of the supreme government are imperative against giving any encouragement to foreigners beyond what the strictest rendering of the treaty entitles them to demand. Although the climate is equable, and the island has the reputation among the Chinese of being healthy, yet the city is not so, and terrible havoc has been made among the missionaries and their families by the insalubrious influences prevailing there.

Chusan is another island which public opinion in England and in India has demanded the government to occupy during the Chinese contest of 1858. It is situated at the southern entrance to the estuary of the Yang-tse-Kiang. The island is very fertile and pretty, but small. It is surrounded by a vast archipelago of lesser isles. Few small islands are so populous.

Hong-Kong is the only territorial acquisition made by the British in the Chinese empire. The name means "sweet waters." The islet is about twenty-five miles in circuit, and is situated at the mouth of the estuary which conducts to Canton, which is a hundred miles distant; Macao is forty miles from the island. The strait which separates it from the mainland is in some places less than a mile wide. Safe anchorage for ships is afforded by the Bay of Hong-Kong on a large scale. When, in 1842, the British acquired the island, there were not more than a thousand inhabitants; in 1858 the number has increased to a hundred thousand.

The capital is called Victoria; it is the seat of a governor, and is an episcopal see. It is built in the form of a semicircle, upon the bay, the buildings extending for four or five miles on either side from the centre of the arc. The streets extend back as far as the mountain will allow; and as street rises above street on the ascent, they present a most interesting picture to a person beholding from the bay, while from the houses at the base of the mountain a magnificent panorama is presented of the town and bay, with the vast throng of commercial shipping, vessels of war, and innumerable fishing-boats, which generally keep "two and two," in order the more effectually to trawl their nets—contributing by this arrangement to the novelty and picturesque character of the scene. The country along the shores of the bay—sand, rock, and hill—adds to the general effect of this prospect.

The approach to the island is not prepossessing; the high grounds of Hong-Kong and the neighbouring islets look bleak and barren, but when the passenger arrives at the town of Victoria he experiences a most agreeable surprise, its fine buildings, sloping ascent, and the magnificent highlands beyond, affording a *coup d'œil* of a most pleasing kind. On landing, the stranger is struck by the proximity of the mountain to the city, overhanging it in a manner calculated to excite alarm for its future safety in case of earthquake, or any extraordinary season of heat or cold, by which the impending rocks might be lowered and hurled upon the houses beneath. Some of the newest houses, and even streets, have been built up the mountain's side. There are several good public buildings—such as government house, Bishop's College, and the Chinese chapel and school attached to it; also a Chinese printing-office, the different mission schools and churches, the hospital, church, club, barracks, military stores, and some of the merchants' establishments. The settlers and the Chinese are fond of giving fancy names to pleasant places in the vicinity—such as "Spring Gardens," "Happy Valley," &c. The public establishments are chiefly on the western side of the bay, called Western Point. Eastern Point is less public, and more picturesque. A Chinese boat-population—similar to that at Canton and other great cities built on large rivers on the seaboard—has already gathered at Hong-Kong.

The following notice of the habits of both the British and Chinese population is from the correspondent of the *New York Herald* in 1857:—"The club-house is most creditable to the place, and the stranger not caring for the hotel is most comfortably off if introduced by any of his friends who may be members. A good library and all the English periodicals are on the tables and in the bookcase; and good chow-chow, good beds, and good attendance, can be purchased for about three dollars per day; but in China most gentlemen are immediately taken possession of by those who may be known to them, and then, of course, you make their house your home. Not to have a spare bed or two for the new comer would be considered contrary to the established usage of the land. You cannot but feel the greatest possible interest in witnessing the untiring industry of this race, so little known among Western nations. Women and men, and sometimes even little children, are hard at work making combs, trunks, or shoes; some chopping up meat, others arranging their vegetables; now it is a party of masons erecting a bamboo-stage, and then a chain-gang grading the hill at the point of the Hindoostanee soldier's bayonet; now coolies carrying water, an enormous load; then sedan chairs, borne by two or four; boys hawking about candies and sweetmeats; boatmen and house-servants coming and going all dressed in that peculiar national blue, wide trousers and Blucher jacket, and their long tail either wound about their head or trailing down behind. The streets of Hong-Kong offer a thousand subjects for reflection to those who have never been thrown in contact with the celestial race."

The same writer was struck by the resemblance of the island to certain auriferous districts both in California and Australia.

The government is conducted by a lieutenant-governor, chief-justice, and council of five. The first-named is the chief ordinary British official in China, as he superintends the trade of the *cinque* ports, and controls the subjects and ships of England in Chinese waters. The present lieutenant-governor is Sir John Bowring, a man of extensive learning and superior business habits. He is not a favourite with the missionaries in China, nor with the classes in England which send them there, and their distaste seems to have been provoked more by the tone which the lieutenant-governor has adopted than by any hostile acts. When in England he was identified with the Manchester school, in the interest of which he was returned for the Lancashire borough of Bolton. Sir John, then Dr. Bowring, was president of the Peace Society, and frequently expressed opinions on the subject of war utterly inconsistent with his official duties as the lieutenant-governor of Hong-Kong. This inconsistency has deprived him of the confidence of large classes at home, while his policy in China and his commercial intelligence have won for him the trust of the merchants in China both British and foreign.

The Chinese population of Hong-Kong is truculent and seditious, partaking of the worst spirit prevalent at Canton. The English are readily served for money; but the real feeling of the whole Chinese population is a desire—at all costs, and by any means, however sanguinary or treacherous—to get rid of their presence. During the war in 1857 their attempts to poison the British population at Hong-Kong, and their schemes, more than once successful, to gain a footing on board ships as passengers, in order to murder the Europeans, and seize the ships, proved them to be at heart brutal and cowardly, however they might feign obedience and quietness.

The habits and customs of the people are as purely and obstinately Chinese as if they were not resident on British soil. As at Singapore, so at Hong-Kong, they retain their distinctive peculiarities as tenaciously as if they resided in Pekin. Various efforts to induce them to conform to British habits in food and attire have been made, for sake of the convenience of such conformity, but without success. The Hong-Kong Chinamen are as fond of rice and tea, taken after their national mode, as their compatriots at Shanghai or Ningpo. Their idea of the way in which the latter article should be used has probably never been so happily expressed as by an imperial poet of their country:—"Graceful are the leaves of mei-hoa, sweetly scented and clear are the leaves of fo-cheou. But place upon a gentle fire the tripod whose colour and form tell of a far antiquity, and fill it with water of molten snow. Let it seethe till it would be hot enough to whiten fish or to redden a crab. Then pour it into a cup, made from the earth of yué, upon the tender leaves of a selected tea-tree. Let it rest till the mists which freely rise have formed themselves into thicker clouds, and until these have gradually ceased to weigh upon the surface, and at last float in their vapour. Then sip deliberately the delicious liquor; it will drive away all the five causes of disquietude which come to trouble us. You may taste, and you may feel, but never can you express in words or song that sweet tranquillity we draw from the essence thus prepared."

It is remarkable that not only at Hong-Kong, but at all the trading ports, an attempt is made to speak English, which, after a little practice, enables English and Chinese to converse with ease for all ordinary practical purposes. At Canton and Hong-Kong this is called "Canton English," but at the other ports, and at Singapore and Malacca, it is called "Pigeon English." Certainly no other oriental nation has made such indefatigable and successful efforts to establish a medium of verbal communication with the English, based on English words.

Such is a general description of an empire with which we have been repeatedly at war—are at war while these pages are issuing from the press; within whose insular empire we have established ourselves; upon the confines of whose territories our Indian empire touches; and with which we are likely to hold still more important relations in the future. A few remarks in reference to their general condition will fitly close this chapter.

As to the present aspect of our commerce with the Chinese empire, commercial men may form their deductions from these facts:—

At the end of the commercial year 1854 the balance of trade between China and Great Britain was estimated at seven millions nine hundred thousand dollars, or two millions sterling, against China.

The estimate stands thus:—

IMPORTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND INDIA.	Dollars.
Opium, 65,000 to 70,000 chests	24,000,000
Cotton, 200,000 bales	4,000,000
Manufactures, &c.	4,000,000
Straits and India	1,600,000
Total	33,600,000

EXPORTS TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.	Dollars.
Tea, 85,000,000 lbs.	15,000,000
Silk, 40,000 bales	9,200,000
Sundries	1,500,000
Total	25,700,000

During the succeeding three years the exports to Great Britain have greatly increased.

In the commercial year 1856-7 the export of teas to England and her colonies was 87,741,000 lbs.; and in the same year the deliveries in England of China silk amounted to 74,215 bales.

In the chapter on the general commerce of India the relations of that part of our empire with China, especially in connection with the opium trade, will be discussed.

It is important to inquire whether the government of that country is likely to improve, and whether it presents a prospect of stability as to its principles, form, and dynasty. It does not possess the affections of the people. The emperor is more feared than loved—more reverenced with a superstitious regard to the sacredness of his person and functions than intelligently respected. The imperial throne has more authority, and is regarded with more affection, along the northern slopes of the Himalayas, or among the rovers of the Mongolian deserts, than in China proper. The relation of the government to its remoter provinces is paternal; to its home provinces oppressive. The industry of the people, although persevering, is repressed, and the fiscal system is exacting and urgent. Everywhere there are traces of decay, and only the untiring labour of the people prevents a rapid retrocession in agriculture, manufactures, and general wealth. The faithful testimony of an eyewitness at the close of 1857 records such impressions when beholding the energy of the people and the effects of a bad and oppressive government, and the predominant originality of the Chinese race asserting itself in connection with all imported ideas, religious, scientific, and social:—"I notice everywhere the same lavish expenditure of labour in paving the footpaths and bridging the dykes with slabs of limestone or granite. The pagoda, from the galleries of which nothing is visible but the limitless flat plain and the frequent villages, is of course a thing comparatively of yesterday. The Buddhists brought the form from India not long before the birth of Christ; but these products of untiring toil, these mounds and dykes, these countless masses of enormous stones brought from afar, —still more those practical, matter-of-fact, Sabbathless, business-loving, pleasure-despising habits of mind, which, under a less corrupt and depressing system of rule, would lead the present race of Chinese to sustain these works and to create others—that insensibility to play of fancy, yet love of quaint conceits and forced antitheses—that incapacity to feel grace and beauty, yet strong appreciation of mere geometrical symmetry—that complete disconnection from (not divergence from) all the modes of thought and vehicles of thought, traditions, and superstitions of other nations—these things suggest a train of dreamy thoughts, and send the mind wandering back to times almost as old as that setting sun. May it not be that we have here a not very degenerate specimen of a civilization that covered the whole earth before our traditions begin—which spread and flourished before the Semitic or the Indo-Germanic race had being—which has left its traces in India and in England, in Mexico and in Italy, in California, and in Greece, in Brittany and in Normandy, and in the most remote islands of the ocean; pilers of mounds and hewers of mountains, builders of Babels whose might was quenched we know not how, and whose sparse descendants we can just trace under the names of Egyptians, Pelasgians, or Etruscans, mingling with new races, and losing their identity."

Throughout China proper there exists an

invidious nationality, which is intolerant of the governing family being of any other race than the Chinese: Mantchou, Calmuck, Mongol, it matters not which, the vast mass of the Chinese people hate Tartar rule, whether power be wielded by an emperor or his satrap. It is alleged by those who have made considerable acquaintance with China, that there cannot be less than seven millions of men bound together in secret societies, which preserve their fealty with stubborn attachment and constancy of purpose. Of course such a number would represent very many more than those actually confederated. Various efforts have been put forth to suppress these societies, but they have been fruitlessly made. Numbers implicated in the seditious confederacies have perished under the headsman's weapon, although life was offered to them if they would reveal the secrets of these associations. The punishment of death does not seem to have any terror for them; and although the government executions sweep thousands and tens of thousands away, the treasonable clubs increase in numbers and boldness.

The rebellion, which for a period of at least nine years has been raging in China, has excited the astonishment of Europe, and earnest inquiries as to its origin, character, and probable success, have been made ever since the tidings of the outbreak first reached Europe. As to the origin of it, there can be no doubt that the treasonable clubs had much to do in setting the example, and affording encouragement, and at length aid, but they did not originate it. The general discontent of the Chinese people was such as to prepare the public mind for any new combination against the government. A new and strange organization came into existence, but neither its founder nor those who joined it had any notion of directing it against the imperial throne. That organization was the "Chinese Union," founded by Dr. Gutzlaff exclusively for Christian purposes, as already shown upon a former page. Every member of this Union undertook to teach some other Chinaman what he knew of Christianity, or to place in his hands some evangelical treatise, or a portion of the sacred Scriptures. This "Union" extended rapidly into the interior, and some discontent with the government existed among its members, in consequence of the severe treatment received from Buddhist and Confucian fanatics, among the mandarins, officials, and scholars. The previously existing "political unions" (as they would be called in English parlance) inflamed this discontent purely for political purposes, they, in their exaggerated nationality, being eager to grasp and use any instrumentality that promised to be effective in opposing the Mantchou dynasty. Eventually circumstances occurred, and a person arose, which gave to "the Union" a political as well as a religious character. A certain man, who from childhood had been skilful in all the learning of the Chinese, met with a native missionary, the assistant of the celebrated Congregational clergyman, Dr. Milne; this native teacher presented the young scholar with a tractate in the Chinese language on Christianity, which the latter read earnestly, and was led in the result to attend public worship as conducted by the Congregational missionaries. He continued to do so for a considerable time, and studied the *Bible* and other religious books such as he was likely in that connection to receive. Retiring to the interior, he engaged himself actively in connection with "the Union" of Dr. Gutzlaff, and succeeded in obtaining extraordinary accessions of members to the ranks of that religious confederacy. The mandarins persecuted him and the new converts; many were decapitated, and great numbers suffered the spoiling of their goods. These things were not known in the seaports, and of course not known in Europe, where the idea of native Protestants suffering martyrdom in great numbers would have excited an extraordinary sensation. After endurance for a considerable time, some of the evangelists arrested by the mandarins were rescued: attempts were made by the mandarins to punish those who took part in releasing the prisoners from custody, but the authorities were resisted by the evangelicals with more audacity than before, the political clubs making common cause with the members of the religious "Union," and all flew to arms. They were encountered by the Tartar troops, and a civil war began, having a twofold object—religious liberty, and the rescue of the Chinese race from the rule of the Mantchou dynasty. The political "clubbists" cared nothing for the objects of "the Union;" "the Unionists" regarded only the liberty of teaching and worship: but as these also were patriots, they, when once in arms, readily coalesced with the clubbists in a common effort to dethrone the Tartar tyranny. Various oppressed classes, and ultimately all the discontented, good and bad, joined these two sections of insurgents, and a motley army was formed under the chief leaders of "the Union," as they were men of superior intelligence and moral influence. The *tien-teh*, or chief, was Hung-sew-tsemen, the scholar who received the book from Dr. Milne's native teacher, Leang-Afan. The history of the origin of the insurrection does not correspond with the accounts generally given by either the merchants or correspondents of the English and American press; it more nearly accords with that which the most experienced missionaries relate, but does not entirely agree with any. After most mature consideration of a vast variety of material, this appears to the author to be the only method of accounting for the origin and early rapid progress of the insurrection. A very respectable authority[*] has lately combated the idea that Christianity had anything to do with the movement, and alleges, that the assumption of a religious motive was a mere trick of Chinese diplomacy, such as that crafty people are always so ready to resort to. But the publications of such of the rebel chiefs as had any connection with the Rev. Dr. Gutzlaff's Union render it utterly impossible to receive any such explanation of their conduct. No doubt the *Herald's* correspondent was informed by Chinese merchants, native and foreign, that such was the case, but it is declared on very respectable testimony, by one[†] who spent much time, and incurred much labour, in travel through Thibet, Mongolia, and China, that the government at Pekin used every means to conceal the real facts of the case, and to misrepresent, distort, and pervert them. The native press was under strict surveillance; the provincial papers copied from the *Pekin Gazette;* and that journal, never veracious, was characterised by extraordinary mendacity in all its accounts of the opinions, purposes, and progress of the rebels, and of the origin, qualifications, and character of the chiefs. Even after the peace of 1842, when the British so completely vanquished the Chinese, that the emperor wrote to Key-ing and Pei-po, his majesty's commissioners, to make any terms with the barbarians, rather than allow the progress of their arms to continue, Huc, the traveller, declares that he was constantly asked by the people whither the barbarians whom the emperor had so severely chastised had been driven! "It is next to impossible to say what effect the late rebellions have had upon the government, for the articles in the *Pekin Gazette* only lead the people astray."[‡] The following character of the origin and the originators of the great revolt is to some extent adverse to the narrative of both here given, and in some respects confirms it:—"The missionaries saw the handiwork of God, and their arduous labours fairly crowned with approaching success. Religion was the motive power, and many of the clever writers traced the origin of the rebellion to Thae-ping-wang, who was a student of the missionary Roberts in 1833. Some of the merchants agreed, but more of them had no faith in the Christianity of the troubles. It was no general insurrection, and each chief at each place acted on his own responsibility, and was actuated only by the hope of plunder or rising to fame on the waves of revolution. One of the leading chieftains was known to have been a horse-boy (of bad character[*]) of one of the merchants of Shanghai, and the others' history could not be traced to any good. The movement at Shanghai was entirely distinct from that one hundred and fifty miles up the Yang-tse-Kiang, at Nankin, while that at Amoy was not the same as that at Canton. Robbery and piracy were fast creating new men, and the government could not concentrate forces fast enough to put down the disturbers of the peace. The attack of the foreigners at Shanghai was, it will be remembered, on the imperial, not the rebel camp, showing the belief that the latter was the stronger. Then none knew how the battles would turn, and the foreigners, influenced only by trade and personal safety, were desirous of taking the popular side. Now they see their error, although many still hold that all was for the best; for had they not stopped the advances of the Tartar troops, no one would have been safe in the settlement. I have said that most of the missionaries believed that was only the ripening of the missionary fruit; and even now there are few of them that will endorse the position which I have taken, that nought but the love of piracy, and the excitement of the mob, influence the insurrection."

The general doctrines of the Unionists are the same as those of evangelical Protestants. Confirmation of this was afforded a few years ago when a number of the party emigrated to California. Concerning those men the *Neveda*, a Californian journal, stated that they were Protestants in doctrine and habit of life, and as such took oath upon the Bible in courts of justice. Many absurd opinions and blasphemous expressions have been attributed to the rebels of late years. This is accounted for variously. The supreme chief, soon after the perusal of the book given him by Leang-Afah, became ill from anxiety of mind, and the deep distress caused by the discovery that he had been an idolater and a "devil worshipper." During this illness he had visions, in which, as was natural in his excited state, there appeared to be urgent revelations given to him to propagate the Word he had received, and, as he fancied, new revelations of truth were made to himself. It would appear that, while capable of reasoning well, and acting in concert with others, in reference to religious and political matters, he never recovered the shock of that illness, nor the intense impression made upon his mind by those visions. He was evidently subject to occasional aberration, and on those occasions put forth pretensions and opinions inconsistent with his ordinary behaviour, and his seriously avowed belief. Another explanation of these inconsistencies is to be found in the fact that the clubbists imitated the Unionists in their religious phraseology, because of the powerful effect which the evangelical doctrine exercised, and wishing politically to use its influence. These men did not understand the subject, and propounded doctrines, assumed titles, and performed acts in the name of the Bible and of Christ, which the members of "the Union" repudiated. The amalgamation, however, of the two sections went forward so rapidly, that much of the original purity of opinion and consistency of practice has departed. The original idea of civil and religious liberty which prevailed in the Union has also given place to a fanatical assumption that they are raised up to purge the earth of idolatry; under this notion they attack Buddhists and Roman Catholics, and destroy their places of worship. This circumstance has formed another source of misrepresentation. The Roman Catholics, being eager to deprive their persecutors of the character attaching to any moderate profession of Christian doctrine, have undoubtedly given descriptions of the creed and conduct of the rebels sometimes exaggerated, and in other instances unfounded.

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[*] The correspondent of the *New York Herald*.

[†] Huc.

[‡] The *New York Herald*

[*] This story has never been authenticated, and is probably without foundation.

The opinions deliberately published by "the Union" and its chiefs are such as cannot fail to demand the serious attention of Christendom; and whatever nonsense may be inculcated by some of the teachers or chiefs, there is in most of their proclamations and books a powerful leaven of evangelical truth. The supreme chief has been accused of blasphemy in calling Christ his brother, but it is a part of their phraseology to speak of God as "their celestial Father," and Christ as "their celestial Brother who redeemed them." It is in this sense that the term has been used, by such of the rebel chiefs at all events as had any connection with "the Union." Hung-sew-tsemen, who had been an author before he professed Christianity, wrote various compositions in prose and verse after his alleged conversion. The following is a specimen given by a very distinguished American missionary* who knew China well:—

> "Confessing our transgressions against heaven,
> Our dependence upon the full atonement of Jesus,
> We should not believe in devils, but obey the holy Commandments,
> Should worship only the true God, with the full powers of the mind,
> Should think on the glories of heaven,
> Also on the terrors of hell, and pity the wicked,
> And early turn to the true, escaping
> From the errors and afflictions of the world."

This appears to have been written soon after the light of Christianity dawned upon his mind, and before the thought of being a political and military chief ever occurred to him. After he had raised the banner of revolt, he posted on the walls of some of the cities the following address to the insurgents:

> "Believe truly in Jesus, and ultimately have happiness;
> Turn away from God, and ultimately have misery."

This species of military proclamation was imitated by men less capable of giving good advice to the insurgents, either as to arms, policy, or religion.

A church dignitary† at Hong-Kong has given the following prayer, as a specimen of the religious and devotional compositions in circulation among the rebels:—"'*I, thine* unworthy son (or daughter), kneeling down upon the ground, with a true heart repent of my sins, and pray the great God (Shang-ti) our heavenly Father, of thine infinite goodness and mercy, to forgive my former ignorance and frequent transgressions of the Divine commands; earnestly beseeching thee, of thy great favour, to pardon all my former sins, and enable me to repent and lead a new life, so that my soul may ascend to heaven. May I from henceforth sincerely repent and forsake my evil ways, not worshipping corrupt spirits (Shin), nor practising perverse things, but obeying thy Divine commands. I also earnestly pray Thee, the great God our heavenly Father, constantly to bestow on me thy Holy Spirit, and change my wicked heart. Never again allow me to be deceived by malignant demons; but, perpetually regarding me with favour, for ever deliver me from the Evil One; and every day bestowing on me food and clothing, exempt me from calamity and woe, granting me tranquillity in the present world, and the enjoyment of endless happiness in heaven; through the merits of our Saviour and heavenly Brother, the Lord Jesus, who redeemed us from sin. I also pray the great God, our Father who is in heaven, that his will may be done on earth as it is in heaven. That thou wouldst look down and grant this request, is my heart's sincere desire.' In this extract from *The Book of Religious Precepts of the Thae-ping-wang Dynasty*, we have a clear recognition of the guilt of sin, the duty of repentance, the atonement of Jesus Christ, the need of a new heart, and the work of the Holy Spirit in renewing and purifying the soul for heaven."

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* Rev. Issachar Roberts.

† The Bishop of Victoria.

A distinguished missionary* of the Congregationalists says:—"The Emperors of China have been remarkable for their absurd claim of extravagant titles and relationships to heaven. The rival emperor declares that Wang (king), and not Shing (holy) nor Ti (emperor or potentate) belongs to him, for the latter term belongs only to the great Supreme Being (Shang-ti)."

In confirmation of this favourable opinion of the pretensions of the rebel chiefs, the same missionary quotes a proclamation from the chief to his army:—"The great God, He is God (Ti). The monarchs of this world may be called kings, and that is all. The great God (Shang-ti), our heavenly Father and Supreme Lord, is omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent, the Supreme over all. There is not an individual who is not produced and cherished by Him. He is Shang (supreme); He is Ti (potentate). Besides the great God (Shang-ti), our heavenly Father and Supreme Lord, there is no one who can be called Shang, and no one who can be called Ti. Therefore from henceforth all you soldiers and officers may designate us your lord, and that is all; you must not call me supreme, lest you should encroach upon the designation of our heavenly Father. Our heavenly Father is our Holy Father, and our celestial elder Brother is our Holy Lord the Saviour of the world. Hence our heavenly Father and our celestial elder Brother alone are holy; and from henceforth all you soldiers and officers may designate us your lord, and that is all; but you must not call me holy, lest you encroach upon the designation of our heavenly Father and celestial elder Brother."

The prospects of the insurrection have been much discussed in China and in Europe. The most recent opinions given are unfavourable to its success. These views receive some confirmation from the fact that the rebels have lately experienced some signal defeats, have been driven from their important positions on the Grand Canal, and have lost some of the chief cities which they had conquered. This must not, however, be taken as proof of a failing cause, for some of their chief conquests were made with means so inadequate, that the wonder is they were able so long to occupy them. The city of Amoy, for instance, containing so large a population, was stormed by about six thousand insurgents, *sans culots*, as Dr. Legge termed them, and, according to the same testimony, armed chiefly with knives: yet the surprised mandarins fled at the approach of danger, and the troops were so fascinated with the audacity of the stormers, that they made common cause with them. Subsequently the Tartars reconquered the city. The great bulk of the Chinese look listlessly on, taking no part, and caring little who is the conqueror, so as their ordinary business is not interfered with: the little interest they do take is, however, in sympathy with the insurgents.

The rebellion has lasted too long to expire under a few reverses caused by the insurgents having pushed on too far from their basis of operations. The doctrine which the revolters are spreading is acting as a solvent upon the established order of things, too active and potent not finally to subdue both throne and temple. Even if the present insurrection were suppressed, the seed of it could not be extirpated: it has been sown broad-cast upon the Chinese mind. Since 1849,* when the first outbreak showed itself—a period of nearly ten years—the moral influence of the rebellion among the people, although not among Europeans, has been growing, so that wherever a rebel army arrives, there is no disposition in even the most populous cities to resist them; and generally the Tartar troops fail to encounter with success the fierce energy of those earnest men. The last authority upon the prospects of the rebellion, whose opinion has reached Europe, is the correspondent of the *Times*. He thus expresses himself, writing at the latter end of August, 1857:—

"From three o'clock till eight I slept, and awoke to find myself moored against the village of Min-Hang. While at this village I fell in with a Chinese physician, who had escaped from Nankin when it fell into the hands of the rebels. He was the first specimen of a Chinese gentleman I had seen. The villages in this neighbourhood contain many fugitives from the rebel districts. The government lodges them in the temples, and allows them thirty cash (about threepence) a day, wherewith, at the present prices, they cannot buy even a sufficiency of rice. Of course disease is common among them, and this benevolent old gentleman devotes himself to their care. He came on board my boat, and we had a long chat. He insists that the key of the Yang-tse-Kiang, Chin-Kiang, has been recovered by the Imperialists; for his friends at Soo-choo have written to him to say so. I doubt this, however; for if this decisive event had happened, the government would certainly have announced it at Shanghai. His view is that the rebellion is dying out. He says the locusts have destroyed it, having especially come upon those provinces where the rebels hold their sway. He does not rest his expectation upon the imperial armies, for he says that the rebels are robbers and murderers, accustomed to every artifice, and adepts in all villany. All the loyal people can do is to hem the conflagration round, and wait till it burns out.

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* The late Dr. Medhurst.

* It was not until 1853 that it gained head.

"These are the opinions of a well-informed Chinese gentleman, who has seen much more of these rebels than the Europeans who have written upon the subject. About forty-eight hours is the longest period that any European has been among them, and they have never invited any closer intercourse. Mr. Edkins interpreted for me these sayings of my Chinese acquaintance with no great satisfaction. The missionaries still hang their hope upon this rebel cause: the facts are unpromising, but still they hope. Devastation and bloodshed track the course of these insurgents wherever they go, but these are only necessary incidents of civil war. The ruin of those public works, which are to China what their dams are to the Dutch, mark where these rebels are, and where they have been. Still more widely-extended ruin follows upon the exhaustion of the imperial treasury. The two great rivers, no longer restrained by the great artificial embankments, now suffered to decay, are altering their courses, and devastating tracts as large as European kingdoms. Perhaps a man whose fervid religious zeal is akin to that which animated Joshua or Gideon, may see in all this but the will of God working to a great end, but the religious facts are not encouraging. The nominal head of the movement, claimed as a missionary convert, has sought no communication with any Christian teacher. He boasts himself the sovereign of the whole earth, calls himself the younger brother of Jesus Christ, and claims to have constant personal intercourse with the Almighty. His second in command, the king of the east, blasphemously styled himself the Holy Ghost; but he has been slain in internecine conflict, and the great leader, or his counsellors, proved their vigour and their Christian humanity by butchering two thousand of his adherents in cold blood.

"This does not look like a hopeful result of a missionary conversion, nor does it give much promise of temporal success to the insurrectionary movement. But then these reformers put to death the 'idolaters,' whether they call themselves the priests of Buddha or the missionaries of the Pope; they forbid opium-smoking under pain of death, and tobacco-smoking under pain of blows; they appear to have read, although they have misinterpreted, the sacred books which the missionaries distribute. Amid the outpourings of blood, in famine and pestilence, in the wreck of all the physical good which antiquity has wrought, our missionaries think they see a hope for the religion of the Bible."

It is but just to the writer of the foregoing passage to state, that he admits his fellow-traveller, the Rev. Mr. Edkins, Congregational missionary, differed from him totally in his views as to the principles and prospects of the insurgents. That the reader may put upon this admission its full value, the following is the correspondent's estimate of the judgment of that clergyman. Having described some of the missionaries as having urged the rebels "to go forth and kill," an extremely improbable hearsay story, the correspondent observes:—"Mr. Edkins is a man of very different spirit to such as these. Upon the testimony of the linguists of Paris, and of the Chinese here, I know him to be one of the greatest of Chinese scholars, and from my own intercourse with him I can say that he is fairly read in the sciences, and well acquainted with western literature. He has undertaken the task of showing the Chinese that we have a literature, and thus disabusing them of that contempt which extends itself to our faith. His American coadjutor, Dr. Macgowan, undertakes to instruct their graduates in the mysteries of the electric telegraph, and their pilots in the law of storms. Missionary labours thus directed must result in good. Your medical missionaries, such as Dr. Lockhart and Dr. Parker, command the gratitude and goodwill of the people. Men of learning, like Mr. Edkins and Dr. Macgowan gradually compel the respect of the literati. These men are ploughing a soil in expectation of a seed-time which is not yet. To the missionary societies of England and America I would say *hæ tibi erunt artes*,—ignorant declaimers in bad Chinese have no success in China. Their preaching is foolishness in more than the apostolic sense; but this practical and conceited people only jeer and blaspheme. Yet I have found even the higher class of missionaries hoping against hope that the rebels may succeed, and that they may turn out to be Christians."

A correspondent of the *New York Herald*, whose letters were dated a little earlier than those just quoted, takes the same views, and they are expressed in a manner which entitles them to consideration:—

"I have given my reasons for believing that the late insurrection was entirely foreign from the Christian's labours; but, as I have said, few of the members of the mission will agree with me. However, my opinion goes for what it is worth. Read MacDowal's and Meadows' correspondence in the *Times* last year, if you wish to see different views. The one argues directly against the other; but neither conclusively. Depend upon it, the Tsing dynasty came much nearer being overthrown with the English war than by the late movement; for the one had power, the other only told of weakness. It is utterly impossible to say what a day may bring forth. Here, as in Europe, a change may come in the night-time. China may remain stationary for a year or two, or longer, and then, *mirabile dictu*, all may be in commotion again. As Europe was in the middle ages, so is China now—just upon the eve of some wonderful moral and political change. Feudal Europe held back for a long time from civilization, from the arts, literature, and commerce. So it is now with China. Foreign influence must work out the country's destiny. What is wanted is the united action of several nations—an allied fleet to wake them from their lethargic slumbers.

"I have shown, in running my eye through the page of history, that the revolution of 1853 is nothing at all unusual: periodical storms of insurrections have and will continue to spread the Jacobin system throughout the empire; the same restless democratic spirit that is working at the vitals of European monarchism, in a different form is eating at the roots of the Tartar's throne. I can imagine nothing more terrible than the breaking up into petty governments of such a mighty people. Better be as they are, than in the hands of native princes, each striving for the other's life."

As a question of authority between "the correspondents" and the missionaries, it will not be wonderful if men who have known China for many years, and have conversed with the rebels, should know better the condition of China, and the state of Chinese parties; nor is it unlikely or unreasonable, that men accustomed to study human nature from the religious point of view, should be the better judges of a great religious or quasi-religious movement. Probably no man in China is more competent than the Rev. Dr. Legge, of the Congregational mission, to judge this matter. His views are, that although the fortunes of the rebels may be chequered, they are sure to succeed in the end; that in such case they will open China to European commerce, but will nevertheless suppress the opium trade; that although they imperfectly understand Christianity, and civil and religious liberty, they will make China as free to the missionary as to the merchant; and however likely at first to persecute idolatry in every form, they will yield to more tolerant views under the influence of Christian ministers, and the social and political ideas entertained by the English, Americans, and others conducting commerce at their ports.

The merchant class in China is less favourable than the missionary class to the rebel cause, in consequence of the notorious determination of the insurgents to suppress a traffic by which the trader profits. This will, perhaps, explain much of the too sanguine favour shown by the one, and the distrust or hostility of the other, to the insurrectionary party. There can be no doubt that the issue of the war with England in 1842 deprived the Tartar troops of all prestige in the eyes of the people, and inspired the hope of a successful struggle; and that the present war with England and France will be productive of the same result in a still greater degree, affording new life to the rebel cause. Should success crown their efforts, then, in the words of Dr. Legge, it may be said, "there will be effected one of the greatest revolutions the world ever saw." Idolatry will cease to be the established creed of one-third of the earth's population; Christianity, in a form more or less enlightened, will be ostensibly recognised by that proportion of mankind; and freedom of intercourse will be secured between China and Europe, productive of marvellous commercial results. Should such a change take place in China, Japan, Java, and other benighted regions of the East will feel the vibrations of a moral and political earthquake extensive and mighty, and be startled from the social, moral, and intellectual torpor in which they have been so long benumbed. The regeneration of China is the regeneration of the oriental world; for the industry and enterprise of the race fit them to become the apostles of a new eastern civilization.

CHAPTER XII.

INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE BEEN THEATRES OF WAR DURING THE PROGRESS OF OUR EASTERN DOMINION (*Continued*).

BIRMAH.

THE empire of Ava comprises many territories which did not originally belong to it, and which have all been included under the general name of BIRMAH. Fierce wars have been conducted by the Birmese with Cochin China, Siam, Laos, Pegu, and with every people around them, by which their dominion gradually extended over the whole of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. In this career of conquest many checks were experienced, especially from the Peguans, who at one time plundered the capital of Ava. The wars with England were disastrous to the Birmese, issuing in the loss of some of their finest territories, comprising, as shown on another page, the countries along the whole eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. Having already described the provinces thus conquered from the Birmese, it will be unnecessary to dwell long upon the characteristics of an empire, our chief interest in which is connected with its contiguity to those conquests.

The Birman empire, in its present extent—shorn of the territories wrested from it so lately by the English—occupies that portion of the Indo-Chinese peninsula which separates the British dominions from those of China proper and Siam. It is bounded on the north by Assam and Thibet; on the east by China and Siam; on the west by certain states of India tributary to Great Britain, and by the British province of Arracan; on the south by China, Siam, and Pegu. It is impossible to say with precision what are its precise boundaries along its eastern and south-eastern frontiers, as they are perpetually changing, especially from disputes with Laos, Lachtho, Cambosia, and Siam. These are peaceful nations, but the love of extending territory, which seems ingrained in the hearts of all orientals, brings them into incessant differences with the Birmese, who are, however, more generally the aggressors. The area is unknown: no surveys exist, and any statement would rest on mere conjecture. Since the loss of Tenesserim, Pegu, and the other ceded territories north of the latter, it is alleged that from two hundred thousand square miles, which the empire once contained, its area has been reduced to half that extent.

The number of the population cannot be ascertained: the highest estimate is about sixteen millions. The ancient part of the empire—that which is inhabited by the governing race—is Ava, a very extensive region. It gives its name to the whole of the Birmese dominions, which are frequently called the empire of Ava; and it is supposed by some writers to take its name from the city so designated, which is upon the right bank of the Irriwaddy, and central to the empire.

The climate is one of the finest in India, especially in the northern portions of Ava bordering Thibet. The intense heat experienced in the British provinces of Tenesserim, Pegu, and Arracan, is not common in any part of Ava, except for a short time during midsummer: the climate is, however, very warm in every part of the empire. The productions of the soil are tropical. The regularity of the seasons is favourable to the cultivator, as he can nearly always rely upon a return of the expected produce, and has no difficulty in determining upon what is suitable to plant or sow. There is very little lowland in Ava, and hence, notwithstanding the low latitude, vegetables and fruits common to Southern Europe in some places grow well. Most of the productions of India and China thrive within the limits of the old Birman empire. Good wheat, and other cereals, are raised. Tobacco, cotton of two sorts (one very white, the other brown, suitable for nankeens), indigo, sugar-cane, and rice, yield abundant crops to the husbandman. Nearly all the fruits of the tropics are plentiful in Ava. Trees of very many kinds flourish: teak grows thickly by the river courses, although the best kinds are found in the mountains, which are also crowned with varieties of useful firs. The forest districts are unhealthy, as they are in India. Ague and jungle fever are very common, and Europeans cannot encounter the pestiferous influence of these neighbourhoods. The woodmen are a peculiar class, who live by the timber trade: they endure the deleterious influences of the climate as none others can, but they seldom live to an advanced age.

The tea-plant is indigenous to Birmah: some good qualities of the Assam species are found on the frontier of that country. Some very fine qualities have been also discovered on the Chinese frontier, but the quantity picked in either case is very small. In the interior there are wild plants, which are very prolific, bearing a leaf resembling Bohea; and a peculiar species, the leaf of which makes a most agreeable pickle, in the opinion of some Europeans surpassing all others.

The mineral productions of Birmah are abundant as they are varied. The gold and silver mines of Badouem, on the Chinese frontiers, have been long known. The mines of Woobolootan are amongst the most remarkable in the world; they are situated on the hilly range near the River Keenduem, and yield gold, silver, sapphires, and rubies. Near the city of Ava, at Keoummevum, there are mines still richer, and the variety of the treasures found there probably exceeds that of any other mines in the world. Between the Rivers Irriwaddy and Keenduem there is a small river called the *Shoe Lien Koup* (the stream of the golden sand), in which gold dust in large quantities is obtained. In many of the minor streams, along the lower mountain slopes, gold is found in the sands. Ava is famous for its beautiful chrysolites. Amethysts and garnets are found in very great numbers: jasper is a product much prized by the Birmese. Near some of the rivers amber, the purest and most pellucid in the world, is dug up. The marble of Birmah is likewise unrivalled; it admits of a polish which renders it almost transparent. This commodity is invested with religious sacredness, because the images of Buddha are formed from it: its exportation is prohibited, except through the medium of government. There are but few minerals which are not to be found in Birmah: iron, tin, lead, antimony, arsenic, and sulphur, are obtained in large quantities, with but little expenditure of labour or capital.

One of the curiosities of Birmese production is the petroleum oil, which is drawn from wells, that have attained great celebrity in the East: throughout the imperial provinces this oil is much in request, and as the government holds a monopoly of its sale, a large revenue is thence derived.

The animals of Ava are of the same species as those of Arracan, Pegu, and Tenesserim generally, which have been already described when an account of those vanquished provinces of the Birman empire was given. In Ava the elephant is much prized.

The vegetable, mineral, and animal products of this fine country are articles of commerce with neighbouring nations, and but for the illiberal commercial notions of both the people and the government, the Birmese empire would, ages since, have been a vast emporium, so numerous and valuable are its resources.

The chief commerce is conducted with China, in which country there is a market for most Birmese commodities; and the manufactures of China are highly valued in Ava. China takes most of the cotton which is exported, and especially of the brown sort, which is manufactured into cloth in the city of Nankin. The Chinese eagerly purchase from the Birmans amber, ivory, precious stones, and betel-nut. Formerly edible birds' nests were a Birman export, but these were sent to China by provinces which are now British. The Birmese receive for their commodities from China silks raw and wrought, velvets, gold-leaf, paper, porcelain, and metal vessels. The Avanese are very desirous to procure Chinese preserves, which are in high reputation in all that part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Cocoa-nut is a much valued importation from Ceylon and Continental India. From the latter muslins are received, and broad-cloths from England. The beautiful wing and tail feathers of the Argus pheasant (*Argus giganteus*), found only in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the Island of Sumatra, were formerly a profitable commodity of Birmese commerce. They are now generally exported from Malacca. Marabout feathers are at present obtained chiefly from Cochin China: previously they were also a Birmese export.

Feathers were, at a former period, woven for clothing in Ava and China. The forests of the former, and the sea-coasts, afforded haunts for multitudes of birds; and the feathers were plaited or woven into garments with great ingenuity. The plaited feather-work of Ava was very beautiful, but the Chinese excelled in incorporating feathers with various tissues, and producing what they called feather-cloth. This art is almost lost in China: it is still practised after a rude fashion in Ava. The Birmese also used feathers in decorating jewellery, but the natives of China excelled them greatly in this art, which they still successfully practise, the higher classes of the Birmese being good customers: feathers, precious stones, and the precious metals being exchanged for these decorated products of Chinese ingenuity. These manufactures are of a character so peculiar and remarkable, that a description of the processes cannot fail to interest the reader. A distinguished naturalist, referring to the uses to which the ancient Birmese and Chinese put the feathers so abundant on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and particularly naming the head-ornaments and feather-cloths, observes:—

"Among them was the celestial goose velvet, the foundation of the fabric being of silk, into which the feathers were ingeniously and skilfully interwoven on a common loom, those of a crimson hue being the most expensive. Of these wild goose feathers two kinds of cloth were made—one for winter, the other for summer wear. Rain could not moisten them: they were called 'rain satin' and 'rain gauze' respectively. Canton men imitated the manufacture, employing feathers of the common goose, blending them with cloth. This fabric, though inferior in quality, was much cheaper. Goods of the same description were also brought from Hohleh (believed to be Bokhara), made of birds' feathers: they were twilled, the crimson-coloured being most valued. The article was too heavy for garments. The Cantonese also learned to imitate this, making it like plain silk, and inferior to that from abroad. Although the Chinese would seem to have lost the art of weaving feathers, plumagery is still extensively practised in the decoration of metallic ornaments worn by all classes of females, chiefly on the head. The gaudy lustre of the metal is softened by laying over portions of it a covering of blue feathers representing flowers, insects, birds, and the like, which imparts indescribable beauty to the silversmith's elaborate filagrees. The art appears to most advantage as practised by artificers, whose occupation is the manufacture of garlands, chaplets, frontals, tiaras, and crowns of very thin copper, on which purple, dark and light blue feathers of gorgeous brilliancy are laid with exquisite taste and skill. A more tasteful, elegant, or gorgeous blending of art and nature than is exhibited in some of these head-dresses, perhaps no ingenuity has hitherto devised.

"As this elegant art has not hitherto attracted the attention of foreigners, the mode of procedure may be briefly described:—On the table at which the workman sits, he has a fasciculus of feathers, a small furnace with a few embers for keeping warm a cup of glue, a small cutting instrument like a screw-driver, a pencil or brush, and the articles—either silver-gilt, copper-tinsel, or pasteboard—which are to be feathered. The thumb and index-finger being smeared with glue, the feathers are gently drawn between them, which stiffens the barbs, causing them to adhere firmly together; and when dry the perpendicular blade is drawn close to the shaft, dividing it from the barbed portion. Holding this cutting instrument as in writing, *à la Chinoise*, the artist, by pressing on the strips of barb with the knife, cuts them into the desired size and shape, which is a work of some delicacy—the pieces being very small, in the form of petals, scales, diamonds, squares, and the like, and requiring to be of the same size as the particular spot on which they are to be laid. Besides fingering this tool in the manner described, he holds the pencil nearly as we do a pen, dips it into the glue, brushes the spot to be coated; then expertly reversing it, touches with its opposite point a tiny bit of feather, which is thus lifted up and laid on the part for which it was fitted. Care is requisite, also, in giving a proper direction to this twilled work, for such, of course, is the appearance presented by the barbs. The feathers most in demand for this purpose are from a beautiful species of *alcedo*, brought from the tropical regions of Asia: they are employed for silver articles. King-fishers of coarser plumage and less brilliant hues, found throughout the country, are used for ornaments made of copper or pasteboard. Blue always greatly predominates over lighter or darker shades, relieved by purple, white, or yellow." *

Several substances for tanning are exported from the limits of the old Birmese empire, some of which are the products of Birmah proper—terra japonica, an inspissated extract from the leaves and branches of the *Uncaria gamber*, and cutch, an astringent extract, obtained by boiling the wood of the Acacia catechu, are specimens of these.

The bone fans, in the manufacture of which the Chinese so excel, are made from material in a large degree supplied by the Birmese empire. The ivory fans of China and other ivory manufactures of the celestial empire are made in considerable part from material exported by either the Avanese or inhabitants of British Birmah. Although African ivory is preferred in this country, the Chinese find it more convenient to obtain that of Birmah in exchange for their silks. The ivory of the *tame* elephant of Birmah is supposed to be superior to that of the animal in a tame condition elsewhere. That from the wild animal of Birmah is valued by the Chinese as highly as the best African. The uses to which ivory may be put are almost innumerable,† and the natives of the empires of Birmah and China adopt a very great number of them. Fans, flowers, fancy boxes, idols, idol furniture, altars, inlaid work for columns and doors of temples, throne decorations, and ornaments for the pavilion of the white elephant, are some of the purposes for which it is employed. The government has a monopoly of such as is exported to China. Ivory dust is used for food by some of the higher classes, which others consider to be irreligious. The blancmange which is made from it is extremely agreeable. The Birmese never succeeded in attaining to the perfection of either the Indians or Chinese in the working of ivory; for although some good specimens of Birmese carving exist, especially of ancient date, yet the following encomium upon their more artistic neighbours is correct:—"The Chinese have long been celebrated for their excellence in the fabrication of ornamental articles in ivory, and, strange to say, up to our own time, their productions are still unrivalled. European artists have never succeeded in cutting ivory after the manner of these people, nor, to all appearance, is it likely they ever will. Nothing can be more exquisitely beautiful than the delicate lace-work of a Chinese fan, or the elaborate carving of their miniature junks, chess-pieces, and concentric balls: their models of temples, pagodas, and other pieces of architecture, are likewise skilfully constructed; and yet three thousand years ago such monuments of art were executed with the very same grace and fidelity!" *

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* Dr. Macgowan on Chinese and Aztec Plumagery, in *American Journal of Science and Art*.

† See a Paper read by Professor Owen before the Society of Arts, reported in the Society's Journal of the 19th of December, 1856.

Horn, particularly the horn of the buffalo, is also sent to China, where it is manufactured into drinking-cups, hilts of swords, snuff-boxes, &c. In Birmah drinking vessels are made out of this material by the hand, and in a most wasteful manner; in China the process is as scientific as in England, and therefore less expensive than the Birmese work, so that these articles are sent into Ava, made from the horn imported thence to China. The process in the latter country may be thus described:—"The horn, being sawn to the required length, is scalded and washed over the fire, but, instead of being slit and opened, is placed, while hot, in a conical mould of wood; a corresponding plug of wood is then driven hard in to bring the horn to shape. Here it remains till cold, and is then taken out, and fixed by the large end on the mandril of a lathe, when it is turned and polished both inside and outside, and a groove or *chime*, as the coopers call it, is cut by a gauge tool within the small end for receiving the bottom. The horn is then taken off the lathe, and laid before the fire, when it expands, and becomes somewhat flexible; a round flat piece of horn, of the proper size (cut out of a plate by means of a kind of crown saw), is dropped in, and forced down till it reaches the chime, and becomes perfectly fixed in this situation, and water-tight by the subsequent contraction of the horn as it cools." The buffalo and deer horns imported from Siam to Great Britain frequently pass into that country from the Birman empire, and nearly thirty thousand pairs of horns reach England from the Siamese coasts.

Hogs' skins are used in the manufacture of shoes. The animal thrives in Birmah, as it does in almost all countries and climates. The most valuable wax imported to England is the insect wax of Birmah and China, the secretion of the *Coccus ceriferus.* Musk, in grain and in the pod, is brought to England from Birmah and Siam.

The Birmans use no coin in their commercial dealings with foreigners or with one another; silver in bullion, and lead, are used as the currency.

The people are muscular and active, but not tall. The complexion is purer than that of the Chinese, and much fairer than that of the natives of Bengal, the form both of feature and person much more resembling that of the Chinese. The women are much fairer than the men, and in the northern parts of the country they are sometimes fairer than the inhabitants of Southern Europe.

The government is despotic, the emperor, like his brother of China, assuming the most absurd and pompous titles. In a state document of 1810 the King of England was described as the emperor's vassal. There are no hereditary offices or titles, all honours reverting to the crown upon the decease of the possessor. The officials and wealthy classes are polite and affable, but subtle and rapacious. This arises in part from the extreme oppressions to which they are subjected on the part of the crown, in order to enhance the already enormous riches of the royal house, which possesses stores of precious metals and precious stones, the most costly Chinese silks, ivory carvings, plate, and other articles of expensive Chinese manufacture, reputed to be of enormous worth.

The Birmese have always been warlike, and especially addicted to naval warfare. Their war-boats were a terror in the Bay of Bengal and in the Eastern seas at a period not very remote. The whole people are liable to be called out to military service; but a very small standing army is also retained, which, for the most part, consists of native Christians. The discipline and arms are alike wretched. In combat with men whose weapons are not superior, the Birmese show great spirit and courage. The henza, or Brahminy goose, is the royal ensign, like the eagle of certain European armies, ancient and modern.

The Pali language is the sacred text of Ava, Siam, and Pegu. The Birman language is written in the Sanscrit character, but bears no resemblance in construction to that language.* The character in common use throughout Ava is a round Nogari, derived from the square Pali. It is formed of circles and segments of circles, variously disposed, and is written from left to right.* The higher classes affect an indistinct pronunciation.

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* Report of the Society of Arts.

* Missionary reports.

The Birmans are fond of literature. A curious exemplification of this exists in the fact that Sir William Jones's translation of the institutes of Hindoo law were translated by an Armenian, in 1795, under the orders of the Birman emperor. Letters are so generally diffused, that very considerable numbers can read and write. Those who can afford to keep libraries do so, and, as in China, the public libraries are on a large scale. They are, however, few in Birmah. According to one authority,† the library of his Birman majesty, early in this century, was the largest royal library in Asia. The people are fond of poetry and music, and love to repeat in verse, and sing, the exploits of their ancient kings.

The religion of Birmah, as the reader has seen from references in previous pages, is Buddhist. There are no castes, and no hereditary trades or professions. The characteristics of this religion have been sufficiently depicted in former chapters. There is, however, one most extraordinary superstition for which the empire is noted—the reverence paid to the white elephant. The Birmese, who believe in metempsychosis, suppose that a white elephant contains a human soul in the last of many millions of transmigrations, at the conclusion of which he is absorbed into the Deity. A white elephant is, in consequence of this superstition, always selected for the highest post of dignity in the kingdom next to that of the emperor. The elephant takes precedent of the queen. The following description is the substance of one given in more detail by Captain Canning after a visit to the capital of Ava in 1812:—The residence of the white elephant is contiguous to the royal palace, with which it is connected by a long open gallery supported by numerous wooden pillars, at the farther end of which a curtain of black velvet, embossed with gold, conceals the august animal from the eyes of the vulgar, and before this curtain the offerings intended for him are displayed. His dwelling is a lofty hall covered with splendid gilding both inside and out, and supported by a number of elegant columns: his trappings are very magnificent, being gold studded with large diamonds, pearls, sapphires, rubies, and other precious stones; the vessels out of which he feeds are likewise of gold inlaid with precious stones, and his attendants and guard amount to a thousand persons. The animal thus fed, dressed, and attended, and apparently unconscious of his own importance, receives at a great distance the homage of his votaries, who humbly bow their heads before him nearly to the ground. He possesses a cabinet, composed of a *wringhee*, or prime-minister, a secretary of state, an under-secretary, a transmitter of intelligence, and various inferior officers, who are, nevertheless, high functionaries. There are several large estates in different parts of the country which belong to him, and by the income of which the vast expenditure connected with his dignity is defrayed. When such is the religion of Birmah, the moral and social life of its people cannot be expected to approach in any degree what is pure or happy.

As in China, the extraordinary minute provision made for the punishment of offences, and the multitude of crimes thus provided for, show the laxity of the people and the rigidity of the government.

The treatment of woman is one of the worst features of Birmese social life. They are subjected to every species of hardship, but are not shut up, as in India; on the contrary, they are as unrestrained as European women. There is a peculiar institution affecting woman, which may be called wife-lending, which would demoralise any country where such a law and such a practice was permitted to exist. Females, married or single, are *leased* for a certain time to serve as a wife, especially to strangers. If the stranger is obliged to depart the country, the bond ceases to be effective—both parties are free. Yet the women are seldom unfaithful. It is rare for a Birmese woman to betray her husband, even under the vilest provocation. No women in the East, or perhaps in the world, are so little given to intrigue in any form. Even when placed under bond to a stranger, they are true to that bond, and are kind to their offspring. All children of Europeans born in Ava are held by the laws to be the subjects of the emperor, and cannot be removed without his special permission, which it is presumed he would hardly dare to refuse when British subjects made the demand, yet under cover of this law shameful desertion has been excused. In British Birmah similar customs exist in respect to woman, but of course without the sanction of law. The result, however, is injurious not only to the unfortunate women who are deserted, but to the reputation of England and of British subjects. The Birmah correspondent of the *New York Tribune* recently gave an *exposé* of the consequences ensuing from such a demoralised state of society, calculated to enlist the sympathy of every British philanthropist, especially when it is remembered how the religious and benevolent public of America have struggled to sow the seeds of truth both in British and native Birmah, and their noble exertions to save and educate the native females of those territories. According to the statement in the *Tribune*, many Europeans take advantage of the customs above referred to, and often have families by native women, who are left wholly destitute, the children to grow up heathens, and less cared for than those of Birmese fathers. The correspondent thus exemplifies his assertion:

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* Captain Canning.

† Colonel Symes.

"Three years ago this present month I was informed by a Birman that a young Englishman had entered the monasteries of the priests, and embraced the Buddhist religion. I could not believe such a statement, and took no small pains to look into the matter. I found, to my inexpressible regret, that the cast-off son of an English gentleman had shaved his head, put on the yellow robes, and entered the monastery as a priest of Buddha, where he daily bowed before the idols of Gotama, and was worshipped by the people as himself a god. His father was—he know not where.

"During the same season, while travelling in the jungle, remote from any city, I called at a small village, where my attention was arrested by a lad about twelve years of age under the care of a priest, and in training for the priesthood. He had the large Roman nose, an intelligent forehead, brown hair, and every feature indicated that he possessed a large share of English blood. I made inquiries concerning his parentage. He was the son of an English officer, but had never known his father. His mother died when he was an infant, and, but for the 'tender mercies of the heathen,' he would have been left to perish. My heart yearned for the poor boy. I would gladly have taken him to my heart's home; but he had been given to the priests, who were unwilling to part with so valuable a prize. I have never seen or heard from him since.

"About two years ago I was passing by a market-place, and saw two girls—perhaps I should say young ladies—of eighteen and twenty years of age selling fish and a variety of eatables. They were dressed in Birmese costumes, but so strong were their English features, that I inquired of a man near by concerning them. He said they were the daughters of an English officer, who left the place eighteen years ago, when the youngest was an infant. Their mother died soon after, and they had been brought up by their grandmother, who was very poor. They had no knowledge of their father. Neither could speak or read a word of English. They were heathen, although the daughters of a nominally Christian father. They lived, dressed, and worshipped as the heathen do—slept on a mat, and ate with their fingers.

"I called a few days ago at the house of a collector of revenues in this city. His wife was the daughter of an English physician once stationed here. She said she had been told by her mother that her father was Dr. somebody (I could not make out who), and that he lives at Madras, though she has not heard from him for many long years. Poor woman! I fear she will never hear from her father again. Her husband is a very strong Buddhist, and she joins with him in all his acts of heathen worship.

"Not long since, while passing through the streets, I saw a little girl about two years of age. She possessed English features to a remarkable degree, and, more than all else, the Anglo-Saxon indomitable ruling propensity, for with a stick she was driving about the yard a number of children, some of whom were many years her seniors. I inquired concerning the child, and learned that it was the daughter of an officer who had left the place before the birth of the child. He had made no provision either for her or her mother. The mother had recently taken a Birmese husband.

"I called one day at a house where was a Birmese funeral. A large congregation had assembled, and among the crowd I noticed a white child about a year old. It was a bitter cold morning for this country. The poor child was bareheaded and barefooted, and covered only with a thin calico slip, through and under which the bitter east wind was piercing as the little one clung to the bosom of her mother, a thin delicate girl of eighteen. I inquired concerning the father of the child, and was told that its father was Captain ——, who left the place about a year previous. For the first few months he sent the mother a small pittance per month, but she was now entirely dependent upon her own labour for the support of herself and her worse than fatherless infant. This captain, let it be remarked, had an English wife and family, whom he left in Bengal while on these coasts."

The empire of Ava has few cities, yet the country places are sparsely inhabited, the people collecting in villages, as in India.

There are two capitals—Ava and Ummerapore; and these are the only towns of any great note in the Ava dominions. The first-named of these two cities is more properly designated Aingwa, but corrupted by Europeans into Ava. It is situated in latitude

21° 51′ north, and longitude 95° 58′ east. It is only four miles from Ummerapore, and both may be considered one city, from the intimate connection between them, the environs of one nearly meeting the other. Ava is divided into two fortified departments—one only a mile in circumference, the other four miles. It is a place of temples, most of them passing into a state of dilapidation; but the superstitious people, although willing to build others, would regard it as sacrilege to repair those that still exist. In the temple of Logathero Praw there is a gigantic idol of Buddha, formed from a huge block of the purest marble. The idol occupies a sitting posture, and from the pedestal on which it is represented as sitting to the top of the head it measures thirty-four feet. The measurement across the breast is ten feet, and the diameter of the head is eight feet. Colonel Symes was of opinion that the temple was built over this colossal figure, as the door would be too small to admit even the head. Ummerapore (the city of the immortals) is situated on the banks of an extensive lake, seven miles long, and one and a half broad. It is well fortified, according to Birmese notions. The private buildings in Ummerapore and in Ava are mostly of wood, and frequent conflagrations devastate both. The temples of the former city are chiefly of wood, and richly gilded with the best Chinese gold-leaf both within and without. The amount of gold thus consumed is very considerable. The best building is the imperial library, which is of great value, the books being covered with choice woods richly gilt.

There are various ruined cities, possessing no traces of former greatness, nor any objects of value, except colossal images of Buddha.

The conflicts with Britain have much humiliated this empire. They were generally begun by their imperial majesties with arrogance, and ended in defeat and loss. Birmah is one of those antique old Eastern lands which must be rescued by truth and civilization, conveyed by Western instrumentality.

AFFGHANISTAN.*

This country has been repeatedly the scene of English campaigning, and along its frontiers a border war has been frequently sustained. It is bounded on the north by Little Thibet and Koondooz; on the north-east, by the Indian Caucasus and Little Thibet; on the east, by the Punjaub and the line of the Indus; on the south-east, by Scinde; on the south, by Beloochistan; and on the west, by Persia. It is impossible to make any accurate statement of its area or population. Its surface exceeds that of France, Belgium, and Holland. The population is supposed to be about six millions.

The configuration of the country is hilly, and along its frontiers for the most part picturesque. The Hindoo Cush (Indian Caucasus), a westerly extension of the Himalayas, and the Parapamisan, a still more westerly continuation of the same range, towering up into the regions of perpetual snow, present objects of sublimity along the north-eastern and northern frontier. The Suliman, and other ranges, diversify the scenery along the east, or Punjaub boundary. The streams flowing from these hills, especially from the line of the Hindoo Cush, fertilise the lower country. The border lands of Beloochistan are desert, like the neighbouring frontiers of that country. The rivers are not numerous. The Cabul passes the city of that name, and flows eastward to the Indus, which it joins above Attock. At the confluence a remarkable *ignis fatuus* is seen every evening. The Cabul River is not voluminous, but, from the character of the country through which it flows, its descent to the level of the Indus is rapid. The Helmund directs its course westward, crossing a desert, and empties itself in the great lake Zerak. There are other rivers of some importance, but none large. Eastward, the Cashgar, Koomul, and Gorum, irrigate the country. To the west the country receives the fertilising influences of the Ettymandur, the Urghundaub, the Kooshrood, the Furrakrood, and the Sera. The people are accustomed to cut great numbers of small channels from all the rivers and streams, some of which are exhausted upon the earth, for the fertilisation of which their course is thus checked.

The south-west monsoon is heavy in some districts of the country, while others are, from their conformation, or westerly position, beyond its influence.

In a region so hilly the climate must be various. The valleys experience the heat of a low latitude, while the high acclivities of the mountains are clothed with perpetual winter, and on the lower slopes a European climate is found, producing the fruits and vegetables of the temperate zone. The climate seems especially influenced by the direction of the winds, which, sometimes blowing from snow-capped mountains, or over desert wastes, are cold; in other directions, coming from regions more warm and humid, they are refreshing. The easterly winds are from such causes genial, while those from the west are severely cold, partaking in their character of the east winds in early spring in the metropolis, and along the east coast of England. There are valleys which are so surrounded by mountains, that they can hardly be affected by winds, from whatever quarter.

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* Aff-ghani-st'han.

The appearance of the Affghans would impress the traveller in favour of the climate. They are fair, tall, robust, and appear to enjoy good health, except from the influence of epidemics, which are numerous and severe. The most common are fever and ague in the hilly jungle districts; opthalmia near the deserts; catarrhs in the latter regions and on the highlands; and smallpox everywhere, which carries off great numbers. In winter Europeans suffer, especially in the higher districts, from coughs, and other pulmonary affections. During some seasons the winter has proved to Europeans as trying as that of Siberia. In January, 1842, the British army, in its retreat from Cabul, suffered terribly from this cause. The climate is generally very dry, rivalling Scinde in this respect, without being liable to the heavy and incessant rains at long intervals to which that country is subject. In some of the districts of Affghanistan the climate is supremely delightful; and old traditions exist in Western Asia that the region of Paradise was situated in that country, just as in Southern and Eastern Asia similar traditions point out Ceylon as the place where our first parents tasted the forbidden tree.

The inhabitants believe that they are the descendants of Saul, King of Israel, and frequently apply to themselves the designation Beni-Israel. Some elaborate works have been written to prove this, and others to show that they are descendants of the tribes of Israel carried captive, whose abode it is so difficult to trace, but the argument is not satisfactory in either case to historians and ethnologists generally.

The customs of the people and their manner of life differ much according to the physical peculiarities of the districts which they inhabit. In some places they cultivate the soil, raising such products as are favoured by a tropical climate, or the cereal harvests of the temperate zone; in others they are cultivators of widespread orchards, the bloom and fruit of which in their seasons present aspects of extraordinary loveliness. These orchards might be called fruit-tree forests, their extent is so vast. In some districts the people inhabit old cities founded by the Greeks or the old Affghan kings. In others the people occupy long straggling villages of mud-built huts, with wooden or tiled and terraced roofs. Large districts are occupied by tribes who feed their stock on the wild grass and herbage, moving about like the wandering shepherd races of ancient times, pitching their tents where the pasture more abounds, or some grateful stream supplies refreshment to the flocks and herds and those who tend them. However diversified their habits and occupations, their homes and the sources of their support, their physical features are much the same, except in some border districts. They are bold, haughty, hospitable, vindictive, prompt to make war, tenacious in maintaining it, skilful in retreat, in pursuit vigilant, ever hanging upon the front flanks and rear of a regular army, ready to dispute its advance through some defile, or cut off stragglers in the weary march. Many of the people expect that they are at some future period to march as conquerors through Persia, and to settle in the ancient land of Israel. Such an expectation is the more remarkable, as, with the exception of a few half pagan border tribes, they are fierce Mohammedans. The destinies which they make out for themselves are reconciled to their religion by the notion that the earth is to be one day subject to the Prophet; that to him all nations shall bend the knee, and in him is the fulfilment of all things. His disciples have a right to universal possession, and what portion of the world so suitable for the Beni-Israel as the land of their fathers? It is not to be supposed from these vaticinations and hopes that the Affghans are indifferent to their own country; they are patriotic, and capable of stong local attachments; and their belief that Eden was a portion of their country adds to the attachment which they feel; but they suppose that it is their destiny to move forward, or for a considerable portion of them to do so, to the land of promise, from which their supposed progenitors were exiled. These views are not shared equally by all the tribes, some of whom could not be persuaded to forsake their mountains permanently for any reward, although always willing to make border raids for plunder, even where the gain is doubtful and the danger imminent. On the frontiers of Scinde and the Punjaub, some of the tribes are the fiercest Mohammedan fanatics in the world.

The Affghans make good soldiers when employed under our Indian officers. The infantry of their own chiefs is very ineffective, except in mountain warfare, being wholly without discipline. They were shattered by the first volley of the infantry of old Runjeet Singh. Their cavalry is very good as irregulars; the horses are of superior breeds, some resembling the Arab in form, but larger; others are of a rude appearance, and vicious, but strong, fleet, and enduring. Thus mounted, these wild horsemen made splendid charges upon the infantry of the old

Khalsa army, but were broken upon the squares of those fine battalions. Before British discipline the Affghans never made any stand, except where very small numbers were engaged, and the conflict was hand to hand, or where, protected in some narrow defile, they could deliberately take aim with their long matchlocks.

The commerce of the country is in a very backward condition, although there are many products which would be acceptable to their neighbours, and some wants to supply, which the resources of the countries beyond theirs could satisfy.

There are no navigable rivers, and no good roads; over a large portion of the country there are no roads of any kind: these are of course impediments to commerce of a most formidable kind. Camels are employed in travelling and bearing burthens, as are also horses, which are singularly sure-footed. Caravans are formed, which trade between Chinese Turkistan and Cabul, and between Persia and India, bearing the products of those lands to Affghanistan, and returning with the productions of the latter. The dromedary is also useful for travelling and trading purposes, and is much used in all the plain country, especially in the portions that are dry and sandy. These animals not only carry the articles of exchange, but are objects of commerce. The tall, long-legged dromedary, known in Western India, is imported from Affghanistan, and the Bactria camel is much valued in Scinde and the Punjaub. This animal is very strong, covered with shaggy hair. The camel and dromedary are exchanged for the oxen of the Rajpoots. The sheep of the mountains are an article of commerce, as is also the wool they produce. These sheep have large flat tails a foot broad, and are almost entirely composed of fat. Goats, with long twisted horns, are abundant in the mountains; both the hair and horns of these animals are of some commercial value.

There are various wild animals which are hunted, not only for the skins, which are bartered, but for food. The hunting dogs possessed by the Affghans are very superior, the greyhound and the pointer equalling the best breeds in England. English officers and civilians purchase them. The Affghans are also expert in training eagles and hawks for the chase. Europeans fond of wild sports could find abundant occupation in the mountains which separate our Indian dominions from Affghanistan. The chirk is a bird which the mountaineers have taught to strike the antelope, and fasten on the head until the greyhound comes up. The lion hunter might possibly find the object of his pursuit in the hilly country of Cabul, but the animal is now extremely scarce: some writers state that it is extinct.

The country seldom suffers from locusts, and the people are very little annoyed by mosquitoes, a circumstance important to the lovers of field sports. In their pursuit of game the people incur great danger from various species of venomous reptiles, while the tiger and wild boar sometimes, and the bear frequently, endanger their pursuers. Sometimes the black bear will descend from the wooded hills to feast in a field of sugar-cane, and will defend himself with formidable strength and long-sustained ferocity. The wild sheep, wild goat, and wild dogs, are favourite objects of Affghan sport.

There are few mineral resources of the country used as articles of commerce, but it can hardly be doubted, little as those regions are explored, that the riches of the mountains are vast. Gold has been found in the streams. Silver has also been discovered. Beautiful rubies have been brought by the Persian, Scinde, and Punjaub merchants. Cliffs overhang the Cashgar River, containing *lapis lazuli;* lead, iron, sulphur, and antimony, have been obtained. Saltpetre abounds; rock-salt is taken from "the salt range;" alum is extracted from the clay at Calabaugh; orpiment is procured at Bulk, and from the country of the Huzzaras.*

The timber of Affghanistan will become increasing valuable to the inhabitants of Scinde and the Punjaub. Among the trees suitable for commerce are cedar, oak, walnut, birch, &c., and some woods of wild fruit trees beautifully adapted for tasteful cabinet articles.

The countries with which the Affghans trade besides the British territories adjoining, are Chinese Turkistan, Thibet, Turkistan, Beloochistan, Persia, and Arabia, by way of the port of Kurrachee, in Scinde. To British territory are sent horses, ponies, sheep, goats, hunting dogs, wool, horn, skins, furs, hair, honey, and other animal products; madder, asafœtida, tobacco, almonds, pistachio-nuts, walnuts, hazel-nuts, and a vast quantity of fruits both fresh and dried. Shawls, manufactured partly in Affghanistan and partly in Thibet, and cotton, are also sent down to India. The Affghans derive in return spices, cowrie shells, musk, coral, cotton cloths, silk cloths, indigo, ivory, chalk, bamboos, tin, and sandal-wood. The horses exported from Affghanistan to India are generally natives of Turkistan, but are sold as of Affghan breed.

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* Certain hill tribes. The name, meaning a thousand, is used to denote the reputed number of their tribes.—MILNER.

The people live well, as fruits, vegetables, and animals abound. So plentiful is fruit at Cabul, that grapes sell for one farthing a pound, and even more than that weight is very frequently given for so small a sum.

It is beyond the province of this work to give a minute historical account of the various tribes by which the country is peopled. Few tribes can number a very numerous fraternity, for the whole population is not more than that of Belgium and Holland, and the number of tribes is exceeding great. Sometimes these amalgamate, or form a net-work of alliance along our frontier, rendering them formidable so long as they act together, and are hostile, which their predatory habits dispose them to be, when the fear of British soldiers does not operate to deter their incursions, or wise policy does not conciliate them. Union, however, is not an Affghan virtue: a certain saint of theirs left this prophecy concerning them, which some interpret as a malediction, and others a benediction—"Always free, but never united."

The Huzzaras and Eimanks inhabit what is supposed to be the original home of the ancient Affghan race, by those who allege that the present stock is from the ten tribes of Israel: certainly the difference in appearance, language, and habits between the two septs or nations, whichever they may be, in relation to one another, justifies the supposition of distinct origins. These old tribes, however, proclaim themselves to be of Arab line, an opinion which many British officers who have served on the frontier have adopted. The Huzzara (or Hazerah) country is now British territory, as was shown on a former page. After the termination of the Sikh war it was made over to Gholab Singh, but, from the turbulent character of the people, the ameer was not likely to hold it in subjection, and other territory adjoining the Jummoo frontier was given in exchange. Tribes of the same race as the Huzzaras extend along our whole Punjaub frontier; and were it not for the skill with which Sir Henry Lawrence and his fellow-commissioners, and afterwards Sir John Lawrence, conducted their frontier operations, it would have been impossible to have secured British authority within the conquered dominions of Dhuleep Singh. Other tribes, more warlike still than the Huzzaras, but of kindred blood and character, dominated them, and urged them to conflict with the various occupants of the Punjaub, Sikhs and British. Sir Henry Lawrence observed in his report:—"The Gukkeers, Guggers, and the other aborigines of Huzzara, have most of them been mastered by Pathan invaders from beyond the Indus. These chieftains, secure in their fastnesses, and connected by ties of consanguinity and fellow-feeling with tribes still wilder than themselves, had been accustomed not only to spurn all constituted authority, but actually to exact black mail from the rulers of the Punjaub. The Moguls, and subsequently the Douranees, failed to master them; and the Sikhs, after having been frequently foiled, at length nominally accomplished their subjugation, by stirring up internal faction, and by the perpetration of countless acts of cruelty and treachery. But the conquerors held little more than the ground occupied by their garrisons; and the mountaineers, kept down only by a movable column kept constantly in the field, took advantage of the Sutlej campaign to rise, *en masse*, and recapture all the forts."

Sir Henry, having noticed the Huzzara and the tribes of the Trans-Indus frontier, observed:—"On account of the notoriety which many of the hill tribes had attained, and the large armaments which have been employed against them, it will be not amiss to group the several races under one view, and thus to complete the portraiture. The two main denominations are, firstly, of mixed tribes, chiefly of Affghan and Turkish descent, and secondly, Belooch tribes.*

"The mixed tribes hold the mountains from Huzzara and Peshawur to Dera Futteh Khan, and consist of the following sub-divisions:—Turnoulees, Momunds, Afreedees, Khuttuks, Pathans, Bungush, Orakzyes, Wuzeerees, Sheeranees, and Bhuttenees. The Beloochees tenant the hill ranges from Dera Futteh Khan to the south-western extremity of the Derajat, and to the borders of Scinde; their sub-divisions are the Ooshteranees, the Bozdars, Ligharees, Boogtees, Murrees, and Ghoorchanees.

"The Turnoulees chiefly belong to Huzzara, but they hold lands on both sides of the Indus. Leagued with the Jadoons of the Mahabur, and with the Chuggerzyes, Hussunzyes, and other northern Pathan tribes, they proved most formidable opponents to the Sikhs. It was in their country that Mr. Carne, the collector of Customs, was murdered.

"West and south-west of Peshawur, the most important tribe are the Afreedees. They hold the Khyber and Kohat passes. The numerous sections of the tribe (*kheyls*), each headed by its chief, have been usually split up into factions, and united only to oppose the sovereigns of the Punjaub and of Cabul, and to levy black mail from travellers and merchants. All the great invaders and the supreme potentates of northern India have successively had these Afreedees in their pay—Ghengiz, Timour, Baber, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah, the Barukzyes, the Sikhs, and lastly, the British. To all these unmanageable mountaineers have been treacherous. In each kheyl, some will receive money from a government, and will connive with the remainder in stopping its convoys, plundering the baggage, and murdering stragglers. Their hills near the Khyber are difficult for military operations; but the highlands of Turee, which stretch back into the interior, and in which the Afreedees, together with the Orakzyes, and others, take up their summer abode, are accessible from Kohat, and possess a climate congenial to Europeans. In their plain settlements they are merely squatters, who have won their acres by the sword, and pay revenue with the utmost unwillingness and irregularity. They are not deficient in aptitude for husbandry. Men descended from the same stock with them farm some of the most highly-cultivated garden-lands in Furruckabad. They are brave and hardy, good soldiers, and better marksmen. The best shots in the Guide corps are Afreedees. Perhaps two hundred of them may be found scattered among the Punjaub regiments. If placed as escort or sentries over treasure, they are not to be trusted; but in action they are true to the salt, even when fighting against their own brethren. In this fidelity they are not singular. Fanatic Mohammedans everywhere will fight against men of their own creed, on behalf of the infidel, Hindoo, Sikh, or British.

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* To be noticed under Beloochistan.

"The Momunds have of late gained a notoriety by their desultory skirmishing with the British troops. They inhabit the hills north of the Khyber, and hold both banks of the Cabul River. Their capital, Lalpurah, is situated just beyond the north-western extremity of the Khyber. They have encroached upon the plains, and now possess some of the richest lands in the Doab, from Michnee, where the Cabul River debouches from the hills, to Mutta, on the Swat River. They have also extensively colonized south of the Cabul River. In many points of character they resemble the Afreedees, but are inferior as soldiers.

"The Eusufzye Pathans and their martial qualities have been already mentioned. At the battle of Turee, which gave the sovereignty of Peshawur to the Sikhs, the Eusufzyes formed the strength of the Mohammedan army, which, numbering thirty thousand men, withstood a Sikh force of equal numbers, supported by guns, and headed by Runjeet Singh himself. On another occasion, they surrounded and attacked a body of Sikh irregular cavalry, eight thousand strong; the maharajah was absent, but Hurree Singh, Nulwa, and forty other sirdars, the flower of the Sikh chivalry, were present. These chiefs, feeling their position to be desperate, charged with the utmost gallantry, and cut a way through their assailants—a heterogeneous mass of undisciplined fanatics.

"The Khuttuks dwell in the hills south of Peshawur, and the plain which lies between the base of these hills and the Cabul River. In the Kohat valley, also, they are the predominating tribe. They hold the Kooshalghur Pass, leading from the Indus into Kohat, and offering the easiest entrance to the valley.

"Of these four great tribes, the Afreedees and Momunds have repeatedly appeared in arms against us since annexation; while the Eusufzyes and Khuttuks have never fired a shot except on our side: yet neither of the two latter are inferior to the former in manliness or spirit. Even during Avitabile's reign of terror, they never abated their resistance to Sikh authority. This relentless ruler never ventured into the Khuttuk valley, or the Eusufzye plains.

"The Orakzyes are to be met with to the north-west of Kohat, near the Hungoo valley.

"The Bungush tribe inhabit the enclosed plain of Meeranzye, and also the Khoorum valley, within the Cabul limits.

"The Wuzeerees have their abode in the hills south-west of Kohat, overlooking the Bunnoo valley. The internal history of this remarkable tribe is fully set forth in the volumes of Mr. Elphinstone and Major Edwardes. They occupy numerous passes opening into the Tânk and Bunnoo valleys. The hill, which overhangs the western face of the Soorduk defile, is always held by them. The British government is peculiarly interested in the guarding of the Soorduk Pass, as it forms the direct line of communication between Bahadoor Kheyl and Bunnoo. The nomadic habits of this tribe have been previously touched upon; they are both graziers and robbers. Commanding the main channel of commerce from Cabul and Ghuznee to the Punjaub and Hindoostan, they strive to levy contributions (with more or less success) from the Provindeahs, those warrior merchants whose hardihood and perseverance command a passage from Ghuznee to Derajat.

"Between Tânk and Bunnoo, the Ghubber mountain, a large mass protruding into the plains, is infested by a predatory tribe named Mithanees, who are perpetually at feud with the Wuzeerees.

"On the mountainous border of Dera

Ismail Khan, the most formidable tribe are the Sheeranees; they have frequently descended to rob and murder."

The late governor-general of India,* in minutes entered the 9th of May, 1853, thus notices the Affghan tribes which have been enumerated and described in the above portions of the report of the Punjaub commissioners,† and refers to the importance of our frontier relations to Affghanistan, as affecting the maintenance of a standing army along the border line to prevent invasion. Peace has, however, been principally maintained by the intelligence and skill of the Lawrences and their coadjutors, rather than by an imposing array of arms:—

"The frontier, indeed, has not been free from disturbance, but the attacks upon it have been made, not by the ruler of Cabul, but by the wild tribes of the hills, who, if they are hostile to us, are not one whit more so than they are to the ameer, and to all mankind besides. There has not been war upon the frontiers, but forays over the border. These tribes have been murderers and plunderers since the days of Ishmael, their father; and it is not to be expected in reason that they should at once be converted to order and harmlessness, merely because British rule has been advanced to the foot of their mountain fastnesses. Much, however, has already been done.

"A policy of forbearance and defence was enjoined towards them. The lands they had held in the plains were left to them, and their communities were in no respect interfered with, so long as they respected the rights and the security of others. When after a time the tribes in the Derajat, and above the Peshawur valley, began to commit aggressions, defensive measures alone were taken, while warning was given that a repetition of such aggressions would bring down punishment on their heads. When the warnings repeatedly given to them were disregarded, our subjects murdered, and their property destroyed; and when it became apparent that the tribes were misconstruing the forbearance of the British government, and were presuming on the supposed inaccessibility of their mountain retreats, the government felt it to be its duty to have recourse to sterner measures and severer retribution.

"The punishment of the valley of Ranizaie by the force under Sir Colin Campbell, of the Syuds of Khagan and of the Huzzumzies by Colonel Mackeson, of the Omerzye Wuzeerees by Major Nicholson, and more lately of the Sheeranees and Kusranees, on the borders of the Derajat, have given to those wild people a lesson, which will have, I doubt not, the best effects, and indeed has already produced them. During the past cold season no single outrage has been committed upon the Peshawur frontier.

"The people of Ranizaie, and the several divisions of the Momund tribes that have been punished, have made their submission, have asked permission to re-occupy their lands, and have offered to pay for them revenue—a sign of subjection which they have never exhibited before to any previous dynasty, whether Mogul or Persian, Affghan or Sikh."

The whole of the chiefs of Affghanistan, whether on the British, Belooch, Thibetian, or Persian frontier, are subject to the reigning monarch at Cabul. He has the right of making peace and declaring war, but cannot cede territory. His grand vizier has the chief responsibilities of government. Previous to the inroads of the Sikhs and British, the kingdom was divided into twenty-seven provinces, eighteen of which had separate governors. These were Herat, Furrah, Candahar, Ghuznee, Cabul, Bamian, Ghorebund, Jellalabad, Lughman, Peshawur, Dera Ismail Khan, Shikarpore, Sewee, Scinde, Cashmere, Chuch Huzzara, Seia, and Mooltan. Several of those provinces fell under the dominion of Runjeet Singh, and were conquered by the British from Dhuleep Singh, and now many of the principal Affghan provinces are placed under the British non-regulation provinces of Scinde and the Punjaub. Herat has lately been the cause of a war between Great Britain and Persia, the province lying sufficiently near the Persian frontier to attract the covetousness and ambition of that power. It has, by treaty on the part of the courts of London, Teheran, and Cabul, been recognised as an independent territory.

The language of the Affghans is called Pushtoo. Its origin is a matter of dispute among philologists. Some maintain that it is an original language. Sir William Jones considered it a dialect of the Chaldee of Scripture. The Persian alphabet is employed by the Affghans; but as there are sounds in the Pushtoo which the Persian character will not express, they adopt a system of points. The literature of the country is Persian.

The sect of Mohammedans to which most of the Affghans belong is the Sooni.

The power of the kings of Cabul before the loss of so many fine provinces was very considerable, and the population, in 1809, according to the computation of Elphinstone, was nearly treble what it is now.

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* The Marquis of Dalhousie.

† Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr. John Lawrence, Mr. Mansell, and (his successor) Mr. Montgomery.

There are few countries so capable of resisting invasion as Affghanistan. On the side of India it can only be entered through defiles, where a small band of resolute and well-disciplined men could defend them against hosts. The Bolan Pass, *en route* from Scinde to Candahar, and the Khyber Pass, leading from the Punjaub to Cabul, illustrate the inaccessibility of the country by hostile forces, if the defence be firm and intelligent. From Turkistan the passes through the Parapamisan and the Hindoo Cush are still more formidable, rising to elevations of eleven and twelve thousand feet. Herat is the key of Affghanistan from the side of Persia, and some have called it the key of British India.

There is a peculiarity in the antiquities of Affghanistan and its borders on the Persian side very remarkable. Round towers, generally of stone, called *topes*, the largest of which are about a hundred and fifty feet in circuit at the base, and rising to the height of sixty feet, are to be found in various parts of the country. Their origin or use cannot be traced. Some of them have been proved to contain square chambers, in which ashes, rings, vessels, and relics, have been found, the nature of which could not be ascertained. Burnes pronounced them to be the tombs of kings, but he did so on insufficient evidence. These towers resemble the round towers in Ireland, concerning which also conjecture is lost in the remoteness of antiquity.* Various authorities have assigned to the latter a purpose similar to that which Burnes ascribes to the round towers of Cabul. Others believe them to have been erected as temples of the sun; and certain writers deem them to have been the emblems of a philosophical and yet more corrupt idolatry. No doubt they are of oriental origin, and a correct theory in reference to them would throw light upon the antiquity of the Affghan towers.

The morals of the people are sufficiently indicated by the quotations from Sir Henry Lawrence and Lord Dalhousie. Treachery, indifference to human life, eagerness for plunder, a love of feud and tribal conflict, vindictiveness, and wild fanaticism, seem to be striking characteristics on the unfavourable side. Bravery and hospitality are the virtues most prized and practised by them.

Cabul is the Affghan capital. It is situated in the north-east, on the Cabul River. The site is nearly six thousand four hundred feet above the level of the sea. The soil is productive, and the climate delightful. Orchards surround the city, yielding the many kinds of Asiatic and most descriptions of European fruit. The population is sixty thousand. In the centre of a garden outside the city two slabs of beautiful marble mark the graves of Baber, the founder of the Mogul empire in India. Both within and without the city flowers are much cultivated, and very numerous and beautiful varieties spring up in the fields, orchards, and on the hill-sides. The jessamine, narcissus, hyacinth, poppy, tuberose, and common English flowers, are everywhere to be seen. The country is not well wooded, but the hills nourish birch, holly, and hazel, and on the low grounds the mulberry, tamarisk, and willow. The pistachio is to be met with on the hills near Cabul, but along the Hindoo Cush it grows abundantly. The wild olive, and a gigantic species of cypress, are favourite trees with the people. Timber becomes more scarce in the neighbourhood, and the inhabitants complain of want of fuel.

The sufferings of the British army in 1842 from the severity of the climate has created an impression in England that, from the elevated situation of the city, the winters are intolerably cold, but, although sometimes very inclement, they are not generally severer than in England. The summer climate is really trying to Europeans, for the city is so shut in by hills, that there is not a free play of air, and the heat becomes intense. For a few weeks after midsummer the valley of Cabul has been compared to a furnace. The closely encircling hills afford protection from the winds and snow-storms of winter. It would appear that the climate in this region was in ancient times more temperate as to heat and cold than it is now, for Indian and Persian writers of antiquity celebrate its genial character in prose and verse. The scenery of the province is very lovely, variety being given by the ever-changing aspects of the mountains, dependent upon light and shade, and the different points of view presented by every change of the observer's position. The infinite variety of fruit blossom, and of flowers which cover the earth a large portion of the year, also give a peculiar charm to the landscape.

The predominating tribe of Affghanistan (the Douranee) inhabits the province of Cabul. The throne is occupied by a Douranee dynasty, which was founded by one of the officers of Nadir Shah, on the death of that distinguished personage, in 1747. Shah Soojah was deposed in 1810, the people having rebelled, and rival chiefs having successfully intrigued against his person and dynasty. The shah fled for protection to Runjeet Singh, bearing with him the *Koh-i-noor*, or "mountain of light," the most splendid and valuable diamond known. Runjeet did not scruple to deprive the refugee of his treasure; but retribution followed, for the kingdom of Runjeet was in turn subdued by a more powerful foe; the diamond became a trophy of war, and was destined to reflect its glory upon Queen Victoria.

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* Petrie; O'Brien.

The Douranees are very eager to establish their descent from Israel. They say that Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, consigned their ancestors to the country of Cabul after the overthrow of the temple and city of Jerusalem. This view was adopted by the oriental scholar Sir William Jones, the diplomatist Sir Alexander Burnes, and the Baptist missionaries Drs. Carey and Marshman. Modern orientalists and philologists dispute these claims; yet while the argument on the negative side seems unanswerable, it is very remarkable how such a tradition of their origin should exist among the people themselves.

There is an Armenian colony in the valley, whose fathers were brought thither by Nadir Shah during his Turkish wars; also a Hindoo settlement of remote antiquity; and another of Usbeck Tartars. It would seem to have been the policy of various princes to colonize that region with foreign and even remote peoples, and this circumstance gives some weight to the views of those who suppose that there has been a colonization of Hebrews.

Cabul is computed to be 839 miles (travelling distance) from Delhi, 976 from Agra, 1118 from Lucknow, and 1815 from Calcutta.

South of Cabul is the ancient city of Ghuznee (or Ghuzni), situated in latitude 33° 10′ north, and longitude 66° 57′ east. This was once the capital of an empire which stretched from the Ganges to the Tigris. Like Cabul, its better fortunes are in the past, although, also like that city, it has had a chequered history. The climate is intensely cold, owing to the great elevation of the district above the level of the sea. The inhabitants of the city are obliged some years to remain more than six months within their houses, in consequence of protracted winter, which often continues beyond the vernal equinox. On at least one occasion, at a remote period, the city was buried beneath a fall of snow; in several instances it narrowly escaped a similar fate. The productions of the country around are such as might be predicted of an elevated region exposed to such a climate. The only animals which thrive are camels, although hardy breeds of sheep and goats subsist.

Old travellers have given accounts of ruins and other traces of magnificence, but few now remain, and the city is little better than a large and squalid village. There are, however, some architectural remains of interest, and some slight vestiges of "the palace of felicity," where kings held sway, and of the mosque once called the "Celestial Bride." The tomb of Mahmoud still exists. He was the conqueror of India, and the founder of the Ghuznee dominion. This tomb is about three miles from the existing city—a spacious but not magnificent building, covered with a cupola. The tombstone is of white marble, bearing sculptured verses of the Koran. At its head lies the mace which the deceased monarch is said to have wielded. It is plain, with a heavy head of metal; few men could use it with effect from its great weight. There are thrones also placed within the tomb, said to have been used by the monarch; they are not remarkable, except for being beautifully inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The gates of this tomb were splendid pieces of sandal-wood, which had been brought from Somnauth, in the Gujerat peninsula. After the lapse of seven centuries, these gates were borne away by the British army, in 1842, by command of the governor-general of India, Lord Ellenborough, and restored to Somnauth. His lordship was much censured, and even abused, for this act in England; it was regarded as an indication of his indifference to Christianity, and his desire to foster the prejudices and bigotry of the people of India as a matter of unprincipled expediency. His lordship did not deserve these censures; he removed the gates on a principle that was as clear and politic as it was just. It was to restore to the people of India what once was theirs, which they prized, he being their governor, and they having vanquished under his orders the enemy whose ancestors had made a trophy of these costly doors. The act was also politic towards the Affghans, as leaving them a lasting lesson that their country was not inaccessible to British arms. It was not his aim to conciliate the Affghans at that juncture, but to impress them with the power of the Indian government—the best mode at the juncture of dealing with them. There was one light in which the act of the governor-general might be viewed as of questionable prudence. The gates were taken from a Mohammedan city, and a spot held sacred by Mohammedan feeling; it might offend the disciples of "the Prophet" in India, and shake their loyalty. That people care little for country where creed is concerned. A foreign Mohammedan invader would be more welcome who came with despotism and the Koran than the most tolerant native prince of any other persuasion, although he governed with moderation and justice, and secured the peace and prosperity of the people. Lord Ellenborough took pains to show that the act was performed on his part without any reference to the religion of the people of Gujerat or of Ghuznee, but solely as a matter of political justice.

There is a small tomb remaining built in honour of Hakim Sunai, a poet, which shows that the ancient Affghans of Ghuznee honoured literature, and blended the tombs of their poets with those of their holy men and kings.

Candahar is on the site of one of the cities founded by Alexander the Great, and is now one of the chief commercial marts for the productions of India and Persia. It has become well known in England in connection with the operations of Generals Nott and England in the great Affghan war. It is fortified after the rude manner of the wild people of these regions. It is situated in latitude 36° 11′ north, and longitude 66° 28′ east. "The heat is very severe, and the cold temperate, except in the months of December and January, when water freezes. Here are flowers and fruits in abundance."[*] This account of the climate, given more than three hundred years ago, is strictly applicable now. It was once the capital of the Douranee empire, before the son of Timour transferred the seat of power and regal honour to Cabul. The population is an assemblage of very various tribes and nations, each occupying a separate quarter of the city. The entire number of the inhabitants was in 1820[†] more than a hundred thousand; there has not since been made a more accurate or careful computation, and it is probable that no great change has in this respect taken place. The Douranee Affghans constitute more than half the number of residents.[‡] Jews form a more respectable portion of the citizens than they do of any other Affghan city.[§] The Armenians, although not as numerous as at Cabul, are respectable in numbers as well as in position. The bankers and brokers are chiefly Hindoos. The city is as well regulated as most towns of the European continent, and it is better laid out than probably any other in Asia. There are many excellent houses occupied by Douranee chiefs and wealthy Hindoos and Persians. The public buildings are not characterised by originality or beauty, but they are respectable, especially the palace, the tomb of Ahmed Shah, and one of the mosques.[‖]

The neighbourhood, like Cabul, is planted with orchards, which extend to a great distance around the city, and add beauty to the otherwise very pleasant character of the scenery, which, being level and fertile, yields freely to the hand of the cultivator. Madder, asafœtida, bicerne, and clover, are reared in great quantities, but the chief object of culture is tobacco, which finds a ready sale in Affghanistan, the tobacco of Candahar having an extensive reputation.

The whole province has a high character for the value and variety of its productions. At the close of the last century a native traveller[*] published a minute account of its people and productions, and he stated that the province of Candahar was rich in "wheat, rice, jouree, grain, peas, dates, almonds, saffron, and flowers." The wheat is called white wheat, and is eagerly purchased throughout Affghanistan, and in contiguous countries. Mosques abound all over the province. The Brahminical Hindoos who settle there frequently conform to the religion of Mohammed. According to the native traveller before quoted, the domestic animals are camels and dogs, the latter of peculiarly fine breeds. The province is thinly inhabited, and contains very wild districts, where tigers, buffaloes, deer, and antelopes, abound.

Karabaugh (*ksharabag*, the salt garden) stands in latitude 33° 4′ north, and longitude 71° 17′ east. The Indus is here compressed by the mountains into a channel only three hundred and fifty yards broad, but very deep. The best account of this neighbourhood is that of Elphinstone, who represents the mountains descending abruptly to the river, a road cut along their base, and stretching away beyond the town, hewn out of the solid salt rock. The first part of the pass is literally overhung by the town, which rises street above street on terraces of giddy elevation. The variety of colours presented to the eye is very striking in the town and neighbourhood, the clear beautiful shining crystal of the salt contrasting with the deep blue waters of the Indus, and the colour of the earth around is nearly of a blood-red.[†]

Bameean is situated in a region of mountain grandeur, where the climate is pleasant in summer but severe in winter. It may be called a troglodytic city, the neighbourhood being remarkable for excavations in the hills, the people in considerable numbers living in these caves.[‡]

The policy which our Indian government should pursue in the affairs of Affghanistan is a *vexata quæstio*. Frequently the necessity of active alliance with the Douranee chief, or active war against him, has pressed itself upon the attention of the government of England. In 1809 it was discovered that the French were endeavouring to form a confederacy with Persia for the invasion of Affghanistan, and thence of British India. The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone was accordingly sent as ambassador to the court of Cabul to offer alliance. Shah Shujah, the sovereign, entered into arrangements with Lord Minto, the governor-general, for a plan of co-operation and mutual aid.* This circumstance was supposed to deter the Persian shah, and obstruct the French government. The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone negotiated with ability and frankness the treaties which bound the two governments.

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[*] Abul Fazel.

[†] Hamilton.

[‡] Elphinstone.

[§] Seid Mustapha.

[‖] Forster.

[*] Seid Mustapha.

[†] Elphinstone.

[‡] Milner.

When the Russians revealed their designs upon Central Asia, directing an army against Khiva and Bokhara, and successfully intriguing with Persia and the Affghan chiefs, the British sent an expedition to Cabul, which, although successful, experienced terrible disasters at the close of 1841, which were avenged in 1842 by another and more formidable army.

Herat is situated in the north-west, in the midst of a fertile district, and is a considerable emporium. The town is fortified strongly, and has been frequently held against the Persians with very inferior forces. It has been the policy of Persia to gain this city, in order to improve their position in reference to the British power in India, and to facilitate their long cherished designs on Candahar. These views of the Persians have been encouraged by Russia, that she might through them menace British India. In 1832 a series of intrigues were commenced by the Russian government, which were avowed by the Russian agents at Teheran to have for their object the conquest of Affghanistan by Persia, with the ulterior hope of facilitating a Mohammedan revolt in India. The Persian government simultaneously prosecuted a war against Herat with the same design. The policy of the British government on that occasion was timid and vacillating. Mr. M'Neill, the English envoy, and Lord Palmerston, the foreign minister, moved by a desire for peace, procrastinated when none but a daring and a dashing policy could be of any avail. The result of this cause, so usual with the English ministers since the reform bill, was the emboldenment of the Persian potentate and the Russian agents, and an ultimate expense of blood and treasure to England, which a prompt keen policy would have certainly averted. Never in history were faithlessness and duplicity more disgracefully displayed than by the Russian government and the Czar Nicholas on that occasion. While that government was solemnly disavowing to Lord Durham at St. Petersburg all intention of encouraging the aggressions of Persia against Herat, Russian agents and high officials were promising that power military co-operation, and affording them aid in money. The tameness of the English, and their inexpertness to fathom oriental character, were themes of derision and humiliating caricature at Teheran, Moscow, and St. Petersburg. Since that time the city of Herat and the district around it have been of deeper interest than ever to British politicians. An independence has been guaranteed to Herat, by a very imperfect treaty, in which Colonel Sheil, our agent, either acted very foolishly, or followed very foolish instructions. A determination that Herat shall not be occupied by the Persians has since become a more fixed policy of the English, and they have even lately demonstrated this purpose by arms in a manner to impress the lesson upon the Persian government and people. The policy of the English court and cabinet, and the spirit and deportment of the English minister, who had the chief conduct of affairs on both the occasions when England had by military demonstration to save Herat, has been admirably expressed in the following words:—"Fully alive to our interests in the East, and suspicious from the origin of the designs of Russia, our cabinet seems somewhat liable to the imputation of having exceeded the common bounds of patience and of forbearance to a degree scarcely *compatible* with national dignity. An anxious desire to avoid collision, a nervous apprehension of war, are the leading features of almost every despatch from the Foreign-office. Praiseworthy in the beginning, this feeling predominates over so long a period of time, as to become irksome and disgusting to the reader,—fully conscious of the futility of perseverance in a course which had obviously failed in its object, and seemed calculated to promote the very measures it was meant to deprecate. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged, in reference to the Foreign-office, that when every art of conciliation had been fairly exhausted, the energetic measures resorted to were skilfully contrived, and manfully put in practice; nor is Lord Palmerston open to the accusation of having proceeded from the extreme of indolent forbearance to the opposite extreme of insolent menace or a hasty resolution to resist. Consistent throughout in his desire to obtain his object by persuasion, he resorts to a demonstration of force with professed reluctance, yet with a determination to assume all the responsibility of his actions."* French mediation induced the English to accept, in 1857, less favourable terms than they had a right to impose.

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* Treaties.

* *Analysis of the Diplomatic Correspondence concerning Herat.*

BELOOCHISTAN.

Neither by the character of the country, nor the number of its people, does this region require an extended notice. In 1839 its capital was stormed by the British, and throughout the war with the ameers of Scinde, and during the subsequent settlement of that province, the Beloochees kept up a harassing frontier warfare. Several of the hill tribes along the Scinde and Punjaub frontier have been brought under British authority, which is now enforced along that mountain boundary of Beloochistan.

The region receiving this designation is extensive, being equal in area to that of the whole of the British Isles. On the north it is bounded by Seistan and Affghanistan along a line of frontier more than three hundred miles inland from the sea boundary, which stretches from Persia in the west to the basin of the Indus on the east. On the western boundary are the Persian provinces of Laristan and Kerman; on the east the British provinces of Scinde and the Punjaub.

The central and northern portions of the country are for the most part desert; the southern, called Mekran, is more fertile, but the heat is excessive, parching up the soil of the country. In the highlands, especially of the west, there are four seasons, similar to those of Europe, but warmer, except for a short time in winter, and at considerable elevations.

The products of Beloochistan are much more valuable than is generally supposed, for, as if by common consent, most writers of geography represent the country as little better than a desert. Hamilton declares that an army of twenty-five thousand men could nowhere be supported. The sandy soil, mixed with pebbles, stimulates production, a circumstance well known to cultivators in the west of Ireland, where the corn crops thrive better when the stones are left in considerable proportions amongst the productive soil. In Beloochistan fine crops of wheat and other grain are grown on stony lands, the personal labour of the cultivator in breaking up the soil having an effect similar to that of the spade husbandry of western Ireland.

The country is almost destitute of water, which is the chief impediment to successful farming. Nevertheless, "flocks of sheep and herds of cattle are numerous in every part of the country."* There are other domestic animals of great value, such as horses, mules, asses, camels, dromedaries, buffaloes, goats, dogs, cats, and several varieties of fowl, such as the common hen, and pigeons.

Wild animals are of numerous species, if not of great numbers of each species. There are of quadrupeds lions, tigers, leopards, hyenas, wolves, jackals, tiger cats, dogs, foxes, hares, mongooses, mountain goats, antelopes, elks, red and mouse deer, asses, &c. Of birds there are eagles, kites, vultures, magpies, crows, hawks, flamingoes, herons, bustards, floricans, rock pigeons, lapwings, plovers, snipes, quails. There are also wild geese, ducks, and turkeys—birds which the Beloochees do not possess in a tame state. There are few species of small birds in either Asia or Europe which may not be found somewhere within the limits of Beloochistan. Reptile life is not active there, although some species exist in small numbers. On the sea-coast fish is found, but the Beloochees seem to prefer it dried or salted, for they seldom use it except in these forms even at moderate distances from the coasts.

In most works on Indian commerce the exports from Beloochistan are ignored, while India is represented as sending thither many important articles—such as iron, tin, lead, steel, copper, indigo, betel-nut, cochineal, sugar, spices, silks, gold cloth, chintzes, coarse woollen, and jewellery. The Beloochees, in exchange for these valuable commodities, export the staple productions of their country. Hares, camels, asses, dogs, buffaloes, sheep, black cattle, and other animals, are sent into India, and also wheat and barley. Besides these there are various mineral productions which are exported from Beloochistan, such as rock-salt,—the red aperient salt,—which is found in the hills between Kelat and Cutch Gundava; also alum and sulphur. White and grey marble are taken from the rock to the westward of Nooshbeg. Antimony, brimstone, saltpetre, and sal-ammoniac, are sent into India. Various mineral salts are sent by sea to the nearest ports in the Arabian Gulf. Even the commodities for which Beloochistan is represented by so many writers as being indebted to India—iron, copper, tin, and lead—are found in her own hills, and gold and silver in several places. Cheese and ghee are bought by the Hindoos in the Beloochistan lowlands, and coarse blankets, carpets, and felts, are bought there by the Hindoo traders to send to distant places.

The religion of the whole people is Mohammedan, although among some of the hill tribes there are pagan rites and observances. They are generally fierce fanatics. The people are not of one race. The Beloochees most prevail on the western side, and their language is peculiar to themselves. On the eastern side the Brahooees, who also receive the generic appellation of Beloochees, are the most prevalent.

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* Pottinger.

Major-general Jacob, on the Scinde frontier, has at once awed and reconciled various tribes of the Bráhooees; and those whom the firmness and policy of Sir John and Sir Henry Lawrence have quieted on the lower part of the Punjaub frontiers, and whom they call Beloochees (to distinguish them from the Affghan borderers), are of the same race. Describing the Punjaub frontier of Beloochistan, Sir Henry Lawrence thus writes:—"Lawless Belooch tribes cluster thick in the hills opposite Dera Ghazee Khan. In the Sunghur division of this district the Kusranees reappear, but the most powerful tribe are the Bozdars. Under the Sikh rule the fort of Mungrota was erected to check their depredations. Sawun Mull and General Ventura were obliged to purchase peace from them. Hurrund is infested by Ghoorchanees: one of them having been insulted by a Hindoo kardar of Sawun Mull, the whole body besieged the official's house, and murdered him. After that the government built a fort there. South of Dera Ghazee Khan, the Boogties and Murrees carried their arms up to the very walls of Rajhan. The desolate state of the country in that vicinity is chiefly attributable to their depredations. Since annexation, however, they have been partially awed by the British force, and partly conciliated by Mr. Cortlandt, the deputy-commissioner of Dera Ghazee Khan. But as thieves they are still daring and expert. They are favoured not only by the mountain defiles, but also by the hill-skirts, which have been already described as swampy, and overgrown by sedge and brushwood. But it is hoped that order may be introduced by police organization, by the location of an European officer at Mithunkote, and by concert with the Scinde authorities. The country inhabited by these Belooch tribes closely resembles that described by Sir Charles Napier in his Trukkee campaign. Indeed, that locality cannot be more than fifty miles from Rajhan, and the tribes which the Scinde horse hold in check are brethren of those that occupy the Dera Ghazee Khan border."

Of late years considerable attention has been paid to the languages of Beloochistan. That of the Brahooees is of Sanscrit origin, resembling the Punjaubee. Although the Beloochees proper are supposed to have sprung from the Seljukian Turks, but little progress has been made in the study of their language. It possesses no literature, and might be described as unwritten, had not the Serampore missionaries translated into it portions of the Scriptures. From specimens of the Lord's Prayer examined by these reverend persons very few words could be selected which had any Sanscrit affinity.

The capital is Kelat (*killat*, the fortress), which is situated in latitude 29° 8′ north, and longitude 65° 50′ east. This city has a very small population, scarcely exceeding twenty thousand. The site is elevated, overlooking a fertile and beautiful valley, about eight miles long, and two and a half broad. This valley is well cultivated, its entire extent being laid out in gardens. Although the name of the city means "the fortress," the defences are utterly contemptible. The king's palace is the citadel, the position of which is strong, affords good cover for musketeers, and would prove with a brave garrison very defensible in an assault, but it could offer no resistance to European guns. Small as the population is, it is composed of various nationalities; Beloochees and Brahooees are the most numerous, but Hindoos, Affghans, Punjaubees, Dehwas, and Rajpoots, also have each a proportion somewhat considerable.

CUTCH GUNDAVA is a large division of Beloochistan, situated between the twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth degree of north latitude. It is bounded on the north by Servistan; on the south, by Scinde proper: to the west it is limited by the Brahooick Mountains; and to the east it is separated from the river Indus by a desert. The length of the country from north to south is a hundred and twenty miles. The plain contains many villages, but the only town of any importance is Gundava, although Dudar, Bhag, and Sheree each contain from a thousand to fifteen hundred houses. The people of this district are chiefly Jats, but many Hindoos mingle among them. The Jats have traces in their person, language, and manner, of a Hindoo origin, yet their religion has for ages ceased to be Brahminical. The soil is loamy, and yields good cereal crops, and nourishes large fields of vegetables. It is remarkable that rice will not grow anywhere in this extensive district. The climate is peculiar, by the prevalence of a simoom, which blows during the hot months, when few Europeans could inhabit the country, and the natives suffer from pestilence.

The Beloochees are very patriotic, and jealous of any infraction of their territorial limits. Their hostility to the British during 1839, and throughout the war with the ameers of Scinde, was very decided, and their bearing valiant. They now seem to be convinced that the near neighbourhood of the British is a guarantee for their prosperity; and the policy pursued on their borders by Sir Charles Napier, Major-general Jacob, Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence, has divested them, to all appearance, of every vestige of their former animosity. Beloochee troops are enlisted in the service of the Honourable East India Company. During the war with Persia, under Lieutenant-general Outram, they behaved gallantly, and also served well, and displayed a hearty loyalty during the sepoy revolt of 1857–8. The country is not one likely to tempt the cupidity of the possessors of India, whatever power might rule in that rich realm; but its possession by the British, or the active sympathy of its people with them, would be regarded very jealously by Persia, to which power it might prove seriously injurious in case of war with England.

PERSIA.

This is the last country it falls within the province of this work to notice as one which has been made by the British a theatre of war during their career of arms in the East. It cannot but strike the student of history as remarkable, that, taking Calcutta as the centre, the sword of England has swept around the Asiatic world. From the eastern sea limits of China to the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea the stroke of battle has been dealt by her victorious arm. Around the confines of India, from east to west, from the headlands of the Indo-Chinese peninsula through Bhotia, Nepaul, the frontiers of Thibet, Affghanistan, Beloochistan, even to Mohammerah, the ensign of England has fluttered in the breeze, the bugle of her light infantry has echoed through a thousand hills, and the wild horsemen of her Indian empire swept a thousand plains. In vain have mighty hosts mustered, and the grandest phalanxes of war been presented against her—they were shattered by the thunder of her artillery, and the flash of her steel, as the trees of the forest broken by the lightning storm. The gorgeous city has opened its gates to her viceroys; the desolate plain has been swept by her cohorts, as by the wind of the sahara; the fertile valley has offered to her its teeming riches as a tribute; the mountain fastness has been penetrated by her resistless soldiery; and the flag which has so long floated over every sea is now the banner of invincibility and renown over the fairest realms of the Asiatic world. Never have the stories of conquest been so picturesque, the events of battle so varied, subjugated races bowing to a single sceptre so numerous, or the moral ascendancy and prestige of victors so complete. When Europe heaved with the throes of revolution, and thrones were shaken, until their occupants fell from the pinnacle of their glory, or thrones and monarchs perished in a common overthrow,—when the peoples of continental Europe shrunk, abashed and broken, before the terrible career of the mightiest military genius born out of the British Isles,—England founded a new empire in the East, as well as chained upon the wildest rock in the ocean the conqueror and despot of the West: and beyond the range of realm over which her sceptre is swayed its shadows fall, and its authority and power are feared. Persia, one of the greatest empires of antiquity, has again and again witnessed the war-ships of England in her waters, and seen "the red soldiers" of England on her shores, and amongst the most recent and glorious combats of English troops have been those fought upon the soil of Iran. These circumstances, the relations of Persia to Russia, Turkey, and our Indian empire, and the importance her relations to the first two powers gives to her proximity to India, must attract the attention of all intelligent Englishmen to her position, resources, and policy.

The boundaries of Persia have fluctuated probably as frequently as those of any country in the world. In her turn she has subjugated nations and been subjugated. At a very early period we find her a great kingdom, when the Jewish prophets record her grandeur and her glory. It was in the days of Cyrus that she reached the acme of her warlike splendour, although her riches and the numbers of her armies were more remarkable at a later period, when she summoned the resources of her vassal nations to the wars against Greece, in which her barbaric strength was broken by Grecian skill and heroism. Greek, Parthian, Roman, Saracen, Tartar, and Affghan, have harried and devastated her, yet she still exists in considerable power and affluence for a modern Asiatic kingdom. The present inhabitants of Persia dwell upon the same territory which was regarded as the parent and central land of the ancient Persian empire, although only a small portion of that country was occupied by the race of shepherds from which the Persian conquerors sprung.* Ancient Persia was bounded on the north by the Great Desert and the Caspian Sea; on the south, by the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean; on the east, by the rivers Indus and Oxus; and on the west, by the Euphrates and Media. Modern Persia lies within limits which have been shorn of various provinces which the old empire contained. The Russians have encroached upon its northern limits, robbing it of large and famous provinces. The area over which the shah now reigns is supposed to comprise five hundred thousand square miles, and extends about seven hundred miles from north to south, following the meridian of 54° east, or from the Bay of Astrabad, on the Caspian, to the south of Laristan, on the Persian Gulf; and eight hundred and fifty miles from east to west, following the parallel of 34° north, a line passing about equi-distant from Teheran and Ispahan.

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* Herodotus, ix. p. 122; Plato, the Laws, iii. c. 12.

The physical characteristics of the country are interesting to Great Britain in a political point of view, as the designs of Russia upon that country, and, through her, upon India, open up discussions which are important as to the resources of Persia, and the practicability of attacking it from India and the Persian Gulf.

A large area of Persia consists of a plateau, varying in height from three to four thousand feet above the level of the sea. From this vast plain chains of mountains rise, amidst which are sterile valleys, salt lakes, and salt and sand deserts. Elbruz is the chief mountain range, which runs parallel to the Caspian. Between this range and the great inland sea lies one of the loveliest countries in the world as to scenery and luxuriance of vegetation, but swampy and miasmatic. In the province of Khuzistan, in consequence of the numerous streams flowing to the Shat-el-Arab, or the Tigris, the country is beautiful and luxuriant, yielding the fruits both of Europe and the tropics. This region is one of those magnificent flower lands which are found in so many parts of Asia. It is almost, if not quite, as famed for its roses as Cashmere, and is more famed for its tulips than any other place in Asia. Violets, jasmines, pinks, ranunculuses, hyacinths, and anemones, bloom in the gardens, and even in the fields.

The general aspect of the country is barren and waste, and has always been so, notwithstanding the glowing language of Persian song and fable as to its beauties. Some portions of the country deserve even those eulogies for their riches and beauty.

The mineral resources of the country in some of its most rocky and desert districts is alleged by mineralogists and geologists to be vast, but no efforts are made to obtain those treasures, except in a few places, and the jealousy of both the people and the government deter European enterprise. Some courageous and scientific Frenchmen have made attempts to work mines with a success which promised much, but the religion, laws, government, and habits of the people, proved insurmountable barriers to success.

"The valleys of the centre provinces of Persia abound with all the rarest and most valuable vegetable productions, and might be cultivated to any extent. The pasture grounds of that country are not surpassed by any in the world. Trees are seldom found, except near the towns or villages, but the luxuriance with which they grow, wherever planted, shows that the climate is quite congenial to them." *

The animals are as various as the characteristics of the country. On the rich pasture lands superior cattle and sheep are to be seen in large herds and flocks; in the sandy and rocky districts the animals common to similar Asiatic regions are found. The dogs of Persia, like those of Affghanistan, are remarkable for strength, beauty, and docility. Horses are the finest animals of Persia; they are of various breeds—some renowned for their strength, others for fleetness and beauty. For military purposes they are especially well adapted.

Much depends as to either vegetable or animal life in Persia upon the supply of water. Persia is deficient in rivers. The Tigris and the Euphrates are by some called Persian rivers; these are navigable, and the streams which feed them irrigate the lands through which they flow. The Karoon, in Khuzistan, the Arras, or Araxes, in Aderbijan, and the Heirmund, which flows through the province of Seistan, are the largest rivers within the proper boundaries of Persia.

The climate of course influences the character of the productions, and is itself influenced by the qualities of the soil. Elevation determines quite as much as latitude the variety of climate in Persia. Sir John Malcolm pronounced it healthy; more modern travellers do not give quite so favourable an account of it, but admit that it is on the whole favourable to health.

The sea boundaries of the empire are not made available for an extensive commerce, or the acquisition of maritime power. The Persian Gulf stretches from the Straits of Ormuz six hundred miles, in a direction north-west. Its breadth varies from a hundred miles to more than twice that distance, but at the narrowest portions of the entrance is not more than twenty-five miles. It is remarkable for the great pearl fishery, which employs about thirty thousand persons. At the entrance of the gulf is the Island of Ormuz, situated about ten miles from the Persian coast. This island was the depot of the Portuguese for their oriental trade. It seems to have been a place of reputed commercial wealth in remote times; hence the allusion of Milton:—

> "The wealth of Ormuz or of Ind,
> Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
> Showers on her kings barbaric gold and pearls."

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* Sir John Malcolm.

The land on both sides of the Persian Gulf presents a most dreary appearance, precipitous cliffs of brownish grey colour rising high from the edge of the water, or a desolate waste stretching away far as the eye can see. The shores resemble those of the Red Sea. The coasts are studded with rocky islands.

The operations of the British forces in 1857 gives a particular interest to this portion of Persia, the commercial places, Bushire and Mohammerah, having been occupied by our troops. Bushire is regarded by the Persians as of great importance, but its defences were found by our troops inconsiderable. Captain G. H. Hunt, of the 78th Highlanders, says of it, that as a commercial town it has been oftener attacked than any other in the world. A British resident represents his country there. The town is situated on a sandy spit, the sea washing two faces, and a swampy creek a third. From the harbour it appears well built, but it is a wretched place, filthy, and irregularly constructed. "The Armenian church within its walls is worth a visit, as also the bazaar, and a very extraordinary water reservoir opposite to the residency. The Hablah Peak, and ranges of hills in the background, are very abrupt and bold, the higher ridges at this season capped with snow. The climate is most delightful, but the nights are bitterly cold." *

In the British campaign of 1857 an expedition was made from Bushire into the interior as far as Brasjore, a distance of about fifty miles. "Part of the road traversed lay round the head of the Bushire creek, and was alternately hard and loose sand and reedy swamp, a small fortified tower near some walls and a few date-trees being the only objects of interest passed upon the march." † In that part of the country which lies between Bushire and Char-kota sand-storms are common, resembling the *shimauls* of Aden, which darken the air with clouds of light sand. The cold nights also severely try the few travellers who encounter them, and severely tested the endurance of the British campaigners. From Char-kota to Brasjore the country a little improves, as there are occasional patches of date and palm-trees, and a few cultivated spots, where cereal crops are gathered. The mountain scenery is noble, but the lowlands are desert and sandy with rare exceptions.

Mohammerah is a town of some importance for Persia, situated at the junction of the Karoon River with the Shat-el-Arab. This was one of the places upon which the arms of the British were directed in the Persian war of 1857. The branch of the Euphrates known as the Shat-el-Arab flows through a country in the neighbourhood of Mohammerah which is peculiarly dreary. The banks are flat and swampy; date groves and miserable villages, although frequently occurring, do not relieve the general monotony. The water is muddy, and rolls its gloomy current heavily along. The banks are unhealthy, the malaria for some portions of the year being very fatal, yet a miserable population finds subsistence, and preserves itself: the delicate and weak die off. The strong only surviving, causes the personal appearance of the people to be better than that of most of the neighbouring inland tribes, notwithstanding the wretchedness of their abodes and their general destitution. The local influences there are deadly to Europeans.

The town of Mohammerah is a collection of wretched huts and buildings of mud, yet it is the depot for merchandise to or from India for the upper Persian provinces, for Bussorah and Bagdad. The governor's house is a good building, and the garden attached to it beautiful. A bazaar of very great extent for the place, but badly preserved, was well stocked with commodities when the British forces were there.

Akwaz is situated one hundred miles from Mohammerah up the Karoon River. The scenery is dreary and monotonous; plains of sand, with occasional patches of coarse grass, stretch away in seemingly boundless expanse. On the banks, by the water's edge, jungle grows thickly in many places, and is the haunt of the lion and other beasts of prey. Flocks of wild duck and teal abound. At Kootul-el-Abd the river bends gracefully, and its banks are richer and softer, the willow growing by the water, and the poplar extending some distance inland. Game of various kinds is plentiful in that neighbourhood.

The town is nearly surrounded by low sand-hills, and the plain is well covered with bushes. The place is even more miserable than Mohammerah: it is inhabited by a fine tribe of Arabs. The cultivation of the neighbourhood is very limited and imperfect, and almost the only pleasant spot is a pretty wooded island in the river. A reef of rocks impedes the navigation below the town, creating dangerous rapids. On this reef are the ruins of a bridge. "A few small arches still remaining are of very singular construction, the bricks used being exceedingly small and hard, and shining like porcelain. Tradition dates this back to Alexander the Great. The rapids once passed, the navigation of the river is unimpeded, and with moderately deep water up to Shuster, a city of some importance."* Commander Selby, of the Indian navy, made some years ago a survey of the Karoon from Mohammerah to the rapids of Akwaz. The Bactdyari Mountains, one hundred miles distant, covered with perpetual snow, afford some relief in the far distance as the eye roams over the dark desert.

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* Captain Hunt.

† Townsend.

The Persian Gulf must, from its position, be the scene of war in a conflict between India and Persia; and it is of the utmost importance that surveys be repeated, and an accurate knowledge maintained of the wandering tribes on its shores. A quarter of a century ago, and even less, the gulf was infested by pirates, who were effectually dispersed by the Indian navy. The execution of the task engendered hostility in the minds of the natives,† which has never been removed, and which, although much mitigated by the moderation of the British during the late operations in the gulf, yet is far from being removed, and must be taken into account in any future demonstration. One of the chief hindrances to British influence has been the fierce fanaticism of the Mohammedans on both shores, but, according to the evidence of very high authorities, prejudices of this kind are greatly giving way.‡ From other as well as political considerations attention to the waters and shores of this gulf is important to English interests. "Commerce, the most powerful link to connect nations of widely different character, is now carried on without hindrance. the Persian Gulf is yearly assuming a more important character with reference to European politics, and the gulf is probably destined to become the highway between India and London."§ The following is as brief and accurate a general description as for popular purposes could be presented to the reader; it is written by a naval officer, who, from the love of scientific research, has spent much time in exploring these waters:—"The Persian Gulf is entered by a narrow strait, called by the Arabs 'the Lion's Mouth,' where from either side the opposite coast is visible. After passing these, the shores of Persia and Arabia receding, we find ourselves in a great inland sea, up to the head of which the distance is five hundred miles; its general width is a hundred and twenty miles. This, unlike the Red Sea, which is in a deep narrow bed, is shallow. The only deep part of the gulf is at the entrance, and here there is a hundred fathoms of water; but this depth is only found close to the rocks of Cape Moosendom—it becomes less deep as you go out from the cape. Within the gulf fifty fathoms is about the deepest water, and the upper portion is much shoaler. A peculiar feature of the gulf is that there is scarcely a good harbour in it. The Persian coast is often mountainous; the opposite, or Arabian coast, is mostly a low sandy desert shore. The former coast is the one most navigated, and is the safer of the two. The great gulf or estuary outside the straits, leaving the Meknar coast on the north, and the shores of Oman on the south, is called the Gulf of Oman; it is, most strictly speaking, part of the Persian Gulf."* "On this coast, as well as on the south-east coast of Arabia, it may be taken as a rule—that wherever the coast is low the sea is shallow, and where the coast is high the sea is deep."† The depth of the gulf and of the Euphrates is perpetually changing, from causes thus described:—"This phenomenon is attributable to the immense volume of mud and sand, carried down by the Euphrates and its associated streams, being deposited in so landlocked a body of water as the Persian Gulf, in which, aided by the inset of the tide, the sediment is poured back instead of being swept out by a boisterous open sea."‡

The Island of Karrack will, in all hostile expeditions of the navy of Bombay, be used as a depot. There is an admirable survey of this island, made on the scale of six inches and a half to a mile, upon which every nullah and the large fissures of the rocks may be traced. This survey was made by Mr. Anderson, the officer who, with Mr. Agnew, was murdered at Mooltan by the soldiery of Moolraj.

Although the shores of the gulf are now so desolate, they were once studded by great cities, the remains of which may still be observed. One of the most famous ports of antiquity was Gerrha. The ruins of this city may still be seen at the recess of a narrow bay near the Island of Bahreyn. Within a few miles of Bushire extensive ruins attest that a city once stood there. Tahrie, on the Persian coast, is supposed by some antiquaries to be the ruins of Siraf. There are several other traces of ancient grandeur of more or less interest on the coasts, and some a short way inland, where now all is desolation.

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* *Outram and Havelock's Persian Campaign.*

† *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society.*

‡ *Papers of the Bombay Geographical Society*, February 1856.

§ Lieutenant Charles G. Constable, of the Indian navy.

* *Memoir relative to the Hydrography of the Persian Gulf.*

† *Geography of the Coast of Arabia between Aden and Muskat.* Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii.

‡ Sir Roderick Murchison, at the sitting of the Royal Geographical Society, 1851.

The political importance to England of preserving the prestige of her power in the Persian Gulf was probably never better expressed than by Sir William Fenwick Williams, Bart. (the hero of Kars), in a speech delivered in the House of Commons, when the policy of the late Persian war was under discussion:—"For ten years he had been employed in a public capacity in various parts of the East. He was engaged for five years in negotiations at Erzeroum relative to its affairs with Turkey, and for five years subsequently he travelled in all parts of the Persian territory. He had therefore many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the opinions of almost all classes of the people, and he could assure the house that, in his communications with Persian princes, Turkish dignitaries, and the peasantry of the country, the relative position of Russia and England was the constant theme of conversation among them. They weighed the military power of Russia with the naval power of England, and they talked almost continually of the possibility of Russia going to India. That idea was also inculcated on the minds of the people by every Russian agent who visited their territory, and it was said by those emissaries that Russia would establish herself in India step by step, and that one of those steps would be the capture of Herat. That being the case, he thought the house might safely affirm the policy of the war with Persia. When they looked at the position of Herat, they could have no doubt that that was the direction in which the finger of Russia pointed; and that being so, he contended that the results of the war with Persia proved that it was the very best move that England ever made. He said, then, that as the finger of Russia was seen at Herat, so the finger of England had been seen at Mohammerah, and for centuries to come we should see the good effects of the invasion of Persia."

Having described the general character of the country and its coasts, it is only necessary to state the provincial divisions and chief cities, a more minute account not being pertinent to the objects of this History.

PROVINCES.	CHIEF TOWNS.
Fars	Shiraz, Bushire.
Laristan	Lar.
Khuzistan	Shuster.
Irak Ajemi	Teheran, Ispahan, Hamadan, Casbin.
Ardelan	Kermanshah, Senna.
Azerbijan	Tabreez, Urumiah.
Ghilan	Reshd.
Mazunderan	Saree.
Astrabad	Astrabad.*
Khorassan	Mushed, Yezd.
Kerman	Kerman, Gombroon.

The largest and most commercial cities are —Tabreez, thirty miles east of the Lake of Urumiah; Khoi, eighty miles north-west of Tabreez; Reshd and Balfroosh, on the southern shores of the Caspian; Yezd, occupying an oasis in the vast salt desert of Khorassan; Casbin, north-west of Teheran, surrounded by a vast extent of orchards and vineyards; Hamadan, at the foot of the snowy peak of Elwund, on the supposed site of the ancient Ecbatana; Kermanshah, on an affluent of the Tigris: Kerman, in the centre of the province of that name; and Mushed, towards the deserts of Turkistan. Yezd is one of the great *entrepôts* between Central and Western Asia, where the caravans from Cabul, Cashmere, Herat, and Bokhara are met by merchants from the west, and an immense interchange of commodities takes place. Shiraz, once so famous, is now a decayed city, largely in ruins, but derives interest from the tombs of its two natives—Sadi, the moral philosopher, and Hafiz, the lyric poet.

The remarkable ancient sites are Persepolis, on the plain of Merdusht, thirty-five miles north-east of Shiraz, a royal city of the Medo-Persian kings, of which there are stately vestiges; *Pasargadæ, built by* Cyrus to commemorate his victory over the Medes, identified generally with ruins on the plain of Mourgaub, north-east of Persepolis; Ecbatana, the old capital of the Medes, and the Achmetha of the book of Ezra, now supposed to be represented by Hamadan, where the reputed sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai is shown; Susa, the Shushan of the books of Esther and Daniel, an uncertain site, either at Shus, on the Kerrah, or at Susan, on the Karoon, in Khuzistan, at both of which there are the relics of a great city; and Rhages, connected with the captivity of the Jews, afterwards a capital of the Parthian kings, and the birthplace of Haroun-al-Reschid, now a heap of ruins, five miles south-east of Teheran. The modern Khuzistan is the ancient Susiana, and the Elam of Scripture. The Persis of the Greeks and Romans, and the Paras of the Old Testament, is now represented by the province of Fars. This is Persia proper, and the present is an obvious derivation from the ancient name, Paras or Pharas, abbreviated into Phars, or Fars. *

The people of the kingdom or empire may be divided into two distinctive classes, one of which is fixed, residing in the cities, or cultivating the soil of the more fertile provinces; the other comprises various wandering tribes, who reside in tents, and are often dangerous to the throne, yet also frequently its bravest defenders. The first class are commonly called the Persians proper, but known in the East under the designation of Tanjiks. They have been termed the French of the East, from their vivacity and politeness, although probably the modern French are their inferiors in the latter particular. The people of all tribes, but more especially the Persians proper, give to their country the name of Iran. The wandering tribes are called *Illyotts*,[*] although a considerable number of these wild races, having taken to live in cities in later times, are distinguished by the name of *Sher-nishin:*"[†] the wanderers choosing, in contradistinction, to call themselves *Saharanishin.*[‡]

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* The Russians have pushed their frontier to this place.

* Rev. T. Milner.

The reigning family is one of the tribes which has adopted city life, and settled in Teheran and its neighbourhood; and it is upon the loyalty of these tribes, especially in the direction of the Russian frontier, that the monarch relies against the encroachments of that power. The erratic tribes comprise a population of about two millions and a half, and, while recognising the sovereignty of the shah, are governed by their own customs, and are under the immediate control of their own chiefs. The government of the shah is one of the purest despotisms in the world, the only form of government for which the people would have any respect. The administration is oppressive and unjust.

The old capital is Ispahan, which is situated in an extensive and fertile vale, renowned for its beauty. It was once populous, and its public buildings and delightful gardens were the theme of Persian song and story: it is now desolate, yet less than a century and a half ago it was a city of great opulence, and the seat of government. In the autumn of 1715 an ambassador of Peter the Great of Russia visited Ispahan; an English gentleman happened to be in his suite, who recorded his impressions of the place, and published them in 1762. Although so many years elapsed between his visit and the publication of his book, it appears to be his impression that the Persian capital was, at the latter period, a place of eminence. He described the English and Dutch factories as prosperous, especially the former; and the English factory as situated in the midst of the city, and separated from it by a wall. The following brief account of its site and condition, as it appeared at his visit, shows, when compared with the present ruined and depopulated condition of the same place, how rapidly an oriental, and especially a Persian city, may decay:—

"Ispahan is situated nearly in thirty-two degrees north latitude, on a fruitful plain, in the province of Hierack, anciently the kingdom of the Parthians. About three or four English miles distant from the city, to the south, runs a high ridge of mountains from east to west. Shah Abbass the Great transferred the seat of the Persian government from Casbin to this place. Ispahan is plentifully supplied with water from the river Schenderoo, which runs between the city and the suburbs, keeping its course to the north. It rises near the city, and is fordable almost everywhere, unless during great rains, which seldom happen. After passing this place, its course is but short, for it soon loses itself in dry parched plains. Over the Schenderoo there are three stately stone bridges in sight of one another; but the one in the middle, betwixt the city and that part of the suburbs called Julpha, which terminates the spacious street Czar-bach, far exceeds any structure of that kind I ever saw. It is broad enough for two carriages and a horseman to pass abreast, and has galleries on each side, which are covered, for the convenience of people on foot; and watchmen are stationed at each end to prevent disorders. There are few houses in the town which have not their *chauses*, *i.e.*, cisterns of water, conveyed in pipes from the river—a most salutary and refreshing circumstance in such a dry and sultry climate.

"The city is populous, and, as I have already observed, very extensive. As most of the inhabitants have their houses apart, surrounded with gardens, planted with fruit and other trees, at a distance it appears like a city in a forest, and affords a very agreeable prospect. The streets are generally very narrow and irregular, except that leading to the great bridge already mentioned. This noble street is very broad and straight, and near an English mile in length. On each side are the king's palaces, courts of justice, and the academies for the education of youth, with two rows of tall chinar-trees, which afford a fine shade. These trees have a smooth whitish bark, and a broad leaf, like the plane-tree. At certain distances, there are fountains of water that play continually, round which are spread carpets; and thither the Persians resort to drink coffee, smoke tobacco, and hear news, which, I must confess, is very agreeable in hot weather.

"At Ispahan are many manufactories of silk and cotton, and a great many silkworms in the neighbourhood. As the consumption of silk is very considerable in this place, little of it is exported. The making carpets, however, employs the greatest number of hands, for which the demand is great, as they are preferable in quality, design, and colour, to any made elsewhere.

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[*] "Families," or "tribes."

[†] Dwellers in cities.

[‡] Dwellers in the field.

"The fields about the city are very fertile, and produce plentiful crops of excellent wheat and barley; but then they must all be watered, on account of the dryness of the soil, which is a work of labour and expense. Besides these, I saw no other grain. Provisions of all kinds are very dear at Ispahan, which is sufficiently apparent from the number of poor that go about the streets. Nothing, however, is so extravagantly high as firewood.

"The Roman Catholics have three convents in the city, viz., those of the Carmelites, Capuchins, and Augustins. The Jesuits and Dominicans have their separate convents in the suburbs of Julpha, which is inhabited by Armenians, who are allowed the free exercise of their religion. There is a considerable number of Jews in the city, who are either merchants or mechanics." *

The present capital is Teheran, in latitude 35° 40′ north, longitude 51° 30′ east, built on a sterile plain, near the southern base of Elbruz. It is about four miles in circumference, and contains probably one hundred and fifty thousand persons; but the population fluctuates in the hot season, many of the citizens removing to cooler situations. In summer the heat of the place is intense. The country is naked and savage, presenting the wildest aspect of plain and mountain—

> "Rough quarries, rocks, and hills, whose heads touch heaven."

The religion of the state, and of nearly the whole of the people, is Mohammedan. There are now but few of the Parsees (Ghebers, or fire-worshippers) remaining, after the exterminating persecutions to which they have been exposed. Sofeeism, or scepticism, prevails very extensively; this system is suitable to the volatile Persians, and it is steadily displacing Mohammedanism: yet the Sofeeists enter into the spirit of the national religion so far as to espouse its persecutions, and its quarrels with the rival sect of Mohammedanism professed by the Turks.

The religious history of Persia is interesting. "The primeval religion of Iran, if we may rely on the authorities adduced by Mohsan Fani, was that which Newton calls the oldest of all religions—a firm belief that one supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a due reverence for parents and aged persons; a fraternal affection for the whole human species; and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation." †

The earliest religion of the people soon became corrupted there as elsewhere, and by the same processes. The works of nature became objects of awe, fear, veneration, and were also made types of good or evil ideas. The unseen world was peopled with heroes, demi-gods, and demons, who were worshipped either from fear or admiration, and with homage, relative or direct. Persia, indeed, or Iran, from the earliest times, seems to have been the great classic ground of oriental mythology and romance, which diverged and spread from thence with its roving tribes, the Pali and Pelasgi, &c., to almost every surrounding and distant country, both of the East and of the West. The fabled wars of the gods and giants, which pervade the Greek and Latin classics, most probably originated from the wars of their heroes, or ancient kings, with the *dives*, or rebellious demons, in which they were supposed to be assisted by the *peris*, or fairies, the good demons and guardian angels of mankind; both acting under the control of the Supreme Being.

The sacred books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther depict the ancient power and splendour of the Persian court, and the absolute will of the monarchs at that early age. They also present a true account of the ethical and religious notions and character of the court and people. During the time of Esther and Mordecai, the monarch, and through him the court, were brought under the influence of the monotheism of revelation. Cyrus, the founder of this great empire, which included Babylon, Media, and Persia, was also much influenced by Jewish opinion, as the book of Daniel reveals. The religion of Zoroaster (fire or sun worship) described in a previous chapter, supplanted all other systems, and obtained an early and universal recognition among the Persian tribes. "That people rejects the use of temples, of altars, and of statues, and smiles at the folly of those nations who imagine that the gods are sprung from, or bear any affinity with, the human nature. The tops of the highest mountains are the places chosen for sacrifices. Hymns and prayers are the principal worship; the Supreme God, who fills the wide circle of heaven, is the object to whom they are addressed." *

At an early period Christianity was introduced by the Syrian Church, but was opposed by the Magi. The Nestorians, however, long maintained a position in Persia, and to this day some of them are to be found in the cities and hill countries. The near neighbourhood of Persia to Arabia brought her early under the yoke of the Saracens, and the religion of Mohammed was established, as usual, by the sword.

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* Bell.

† Sir William Jones.

* Herodotus.

The moral character of the people is such as is formed by the Mohammedan religion everywhere; but while the Persians cherish its sanguinary doctrines, and are, as the followers of the Prophet elsewhere, opposed to all science which is not found in the Koran, the polite and volatile character of the people, and the influence of Sofeeism, cause the Mohammedan temper and tone to be less obvious. There is very little sincerity or truth in the Persians of this day, while their arrogance and self-esteem pass the bounds probably of all other people. "The Persian character, throughout all its shades, has one predominating feature—an overweening vanity distinguishes the whole nation." * The policy of the court is utterly faithless, as the British government has frequently experienced.

The languages of Persia are various: Turkish, Arabic, and Pushtoo, are spoken by different tribes, according to their origin, but the Persian is the prevailing tongue. It has been called the Italian of Asia, because of its softness and fluency. It is the polite language of a large portion of Western, Central, and Southern Asia. Its antiquity is very great. Sir William Jones considered the ancient Persian to be identical with the Chaldee, or immediately derived from it. The Chevalier Bunsen regards the ancient Persian, or Iran, as the fount of the Indo-European family of languages.

The literature of Persia is various and refined, the language being especially adapted to poetry and romance: much of the literature it contains is in these forms.

The commerce of Persia is in a very low condition, and shows symptoms of still further decay. The pearl fishery furnishes an article highly prized everywhere, but especially in the East. The caravans convey various articles of commerce to or from Russia, Turkey, Independent Tartary, Beloochistan, Affghanistan, and Cashmere. Trade, by way of the Persian Gulf, is carried on with Kurrachee and Bombay, and, in a less degree, with the eastern ports of India and China.

The Persians still retain some celebrity in the East for light and tasteful manufactures, such as jewellery, in which, however, they are inferior both to the Bengalese and Chinese; sword blades, in which they are rivalled in India; pottery, which is much surpassed by the Chinese manufacturers; gold and silver brocade, in which the Chinese also excel them, as they do in plain silks. The Persians are famous for their manufacture of shawls, which are made from the products of Thibet and Cashmere, brought into Persia by the caravans. The Persian carpets have long maintained a merited celebrity. Mohair, known in Britain as a product of Asia Minor, and now brought into such extensive use in English manufactures, is derived in considerable quantities from Persia. It is the woolly hair or fleece of the Angora goat (*Capra Angorensis*), which is a native of a small district; but the breed has extended to Persia, and the hair become an article of commerce for the Persian caravans. Horses, hare-skins, and horsehair are also articles of export.

There is an exportation of silk to England, but it is very fluctuating, in some years being under a thousand bales, in others reaching four thousand, and occasionally six thousand. It arrives in small bales, or ballots, of seventy-five pounds net. Black lambskins are much valued in Persia, and, being abundant, are exported. Isinglass, obtained from the sturgeon fisheries of the Caspian Sea, is in high repute in Asia Minor, Turkey, Russia, and England. There are few countries, of equal area and resources, for which commerce has done so much in increasing its opulence and civilization.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE.

A brief and popular *exposé* of the system of government of British India is a desideratum. Acts of parliament, and the archives of the India-House, reveal to the student the intricacies of the constitution of the company, its relation to the Board of Control, the regulations, which govern its civil and military services, the collection of its revenue, and the administration of its law and police. Digests of law, abstracts of parliamentary papers, and the acts of the governor-general and council of India have been published, but they are crude and dry, and therefore not adapted for popular perusal. This chapter will present such a general view of the subject, as will enable the reader to peruse, in future chapters, the history of Indian conquest, and of the incorporation of Indian territory, with greater clearness, and also to enter into the political discussions of the day, popular and parliamentary, in reference to Indian topics. Aid will be afforded to the student of this History by presenting some account of the forms of government which prevailed in times antecedent to the British dominion. By this means a comparative view can be taken of those forms, and the constitution and functions of the government of the East India Company.

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* Sir John Malcolm.

The earliest accounts of Indian government are those handed down in the Institutes of Menu. The basis of rule was then laid down in a recognition of caste, and of the relations which existed among the four great orders into which society was divided, and which, in describing the religion of India, were sufficiently explained. The earliest form of government of which we have any knowledge was that which the words superior chieftainship, rather than absolute monarchy, would express. The king was supreme; he was assisted by councils, civil and military, who had no other power than that which he assigned to them. Yet this king or chief is described as amenable to law, as subject in certain cases to fine, but no provision seems to have been made for his arraignment, nor was the tribunal defined to which he was amenable. The inference is that the church was the grand court of appeal. When the people became dissatisfied with the sovereign's conduct, the priesthood was expected to enforce their will; the monarch would be powerless before the combined priests and people, unless at rare conjunctures, when the military class sided with the monarch against both. A struggle of such sort was frequently maintained. The process which an eloquent ethical philosopher of our times represents as having marked the progress of early society in Persia, scarcely less strikingly marked it in India, which derived thence many of its doctrines, political, social, and religious. "The Cyropædia, and the testimonies of Herodotus respecting the feelings of the Persians towards their king, and his inseparable connection with their worship, fully confirm another most important inference which we shall deduce from the legends respecting Zerduscht.* The Magian, officially, was his antagonist; some *monarch* was always the ally in his reforms. To exalt the royal above the sacerdotal function, to prevent the kings from being the servants of the priests, was unquestionably a great part of his work. Herein he was probably acting out a faith which was far older in Persia than himself. It is difficult not to trace—most modern historians have traced—an opposition between the Persian and Median tribes (an opposition not preventing but necessitating an attempt at union between them) which points to more than the strife of mere personal feelings and interests. The Median predominance seems always to indicate the triumph of a priestly order and of priestly habits: the Persian prevalence shows that a king is ruling who knows that he is a king, and is determined to maintain his authority against all opposers, by whatever visible or invisible instruments they may work. The nobler kings—such as were Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes—do not merely proclaim their own tyranny: they assert that Ormusd* is king; they are as entirely religious as those who are leagued against them; their faith is the ground of all their acts; in the strength of it they decree justice, organize satrapies, improve the tillage of the land, and constitute one of those mighty monarchies in which we recognise the character, strength, and spirit of Asia. In these monarchies everything depends upon the central power, or rather upon the earnestness with which the central power confesses its subjection to a gracious and beneficent Power, in whose name it rules and fights. The inscriptions which Major Rawlinson† has recently interpreted, show how remarkably this was the case with Darius Hystaspes: they embody the very spirit of the Zerduscht reformation, and might almost tempt us to the notion—a favourite with some German critics (not, however, it seems to us, compatible with any of the popular traditions)—that he was identical with the Prophet. He no doubt realised the conception of the teacher much more than any mere teacher could have realised it. His order was that attempt to imitate the order of the heavenly bodies, the calmness and regularity of nature, which one who looked upon light as the centre of the outward universe, and the king as the centre of the human society, would especially have admired and rejoiced in."‡ Thus the influence of the sacerdotal order was apparently opposed to the throne, while in reality supporting it; or in appearance upholding its despotism without limitation, but really restraining it. There was natural opposition, yet necessary union. The operation of these relations upon the government, and the condition of the mass of the people, was to consolidate a despotism tempered by moral influence and by an ecclesiastical *imperium in imperio.* One of the statutes of the code, recognised as of divine authority, ordained that the monarch should always have a priest as a member of his household. Indeed, the laws laid down as necessary for the government of the monarch were as extensive, stringent, and minute, as those which regulated the lives and allegiance of the people. Yet from the strictness of the laws, and their number, ensuring the protection of the monarch's person against poison, the knife, strangulation, &c., it may be inferred that, while the theory of his absolutism was not perhaps ostensibly questioned, it was not considered too sacred for those of his subjects who were aggrieved by it to defy it, and assail the person of the king himself.

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* A reformer of the system of the ancient Persian Magi.

* The good god of ancient Persian mythology.

† Now Lieutenant-colonel Sir Henry Creswick Rawlinson, K.C.B.

‡ The Rev. F. D. Maurice's *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*.

Local peculiarities, great natural divisions, and causes which can now be but imperfectly traced, separated the inhabitants of India into different communities, under different chiefs; but the relations of the monarch, the warriors, the priesthood, and the people, remained everywhere essentially the same, and the policy, domestic and foreign, of all the different courts was identical. The Institutes of Menu were respected by all; and before the principles of law that book afterwards contained were codified, they were the vital elements in the political life of all the states of India. Among the political lessons given to the sovereigns from the sacred book was that of endeavouring to sow dissensions among their enemies in their foreign policy. This injunction of course received a very wide construction. If one prince desired the territories of another, the latter was accounted an enemy, and the aggrandizer most religiously set to work to obey the counsel of the sacred book, by carrying intrigue and dissension into the court and country of his peaceful neighbour, perhaps his ally; or it might be that this *finesse* was practised against one who was employing the like against him. Hence the foreign policy of the native rulers has in all ages been utterly profligate. The enjoined principles of negotiation are not so corrupt in "the book" as in the interpretation given; but so universal has this loose interpretation been, that the diplomacy of the native princes has been without faith—for even when engagements have been kept, convenience, not loyalty, regulated the procedure.

Among what may be called the curiosities of ancient Indian government are the directions which the sacred laws unfold for the employment of spies, whether for governmental or military purposes. They were to be chiefly chosen from artful youths, degraded anchorites, needy husbandmen, ruined merchants, and fictitious penitents. These directions have been but too faithfully followed in India ever since.

As general rules of policy, kings were enjoined to regard all neighbouring princes as enemies, but those whose territory lay beyond that of a neighbouring prince as a natural ally, and others as probable neutrals. Hence the protection of the second class of princes was often sought against the first, on terms ruinous to the independence of the state which sought it. Intrigue, chicanery, faithless cunning, disgraceful servility, the most perfidious treachery, and undying suspicion, resulted from this religiously enjoined policy.

Some of the early institutions of India resembled those of the feudal system in Europe. There were lords who rendered service to the supreme sovereign, but who held a species of limited sovereignty themselves. The lords of a single town, or of ten towns, or of one hundred towns, took rank accordingly, and held a position of relative importance and power.

It would appear that in the earliest times there existed municipal institutions in India, bearing some resemblance in their government and customs to those of the Basque provinces in Spain. A considerable amount of personal freedom, local order, and security to property, was maintained by the old Indian municipalities, the remains of which exist in India to this day.

When the Mohammedans conquered India, they introduced various alterations more in harmony with their own religious system. In the villages, and the remoter parts of the country, the old municipal system was respected by the conquerors, but in the large cities the will of the monarch more directly influenced the administration of affairs. Centralization, as opposed to local government, became the rule.

The Mohammedan rulers originated the class known as *zemindars.* These are now a sort of feudatory landholders under the government, possessing the right to sub-let. Under the Mohammedan dominion they were merely superintendents of districts, called, *pergunnahs.*

The government of the Mussulman dynasties was in India, as it has been elsewhere, absolute. It has been described as "a despotism tempered by fanaticism;" and again as "a despotism held in check by conspiracy and assassination."

The fiscal system of the Hindoos was very simple. Their sources of revenue were few. The produce of the land was the chief subject of taxation; commerce was also taxed; various trades paid imposts; and every mechanic rendered twelve days' service to the state.

The levy upon agricultural produce was graduated; grain sustained an impost of from one-twelfth to one-sixth, according to circumstances, which were equitably taken into consideration: on rare occasions—such as war, or for some great public work—one-fourth of the grain produce was taken by the state. One-sixth of all other products of the fields was the highest amount exacted, and the same rate was demanded from manufacturers on the results of their skill. One-fifth of all sales was payable to the crown. Estates for which there were no heirs, and all other property remaining unclaimed for three years, were escheated to the monarch. One-half of the mineral wealth yielded in his dominions was forfeited to the king.

The laws relating to proprietary in land and tenure were complicated and obscure. Custom and arbitrary power must have determined many questions which were sure to arise in connection with this description of property. The townships, municipalities, and villages held the land in many places,—as these communities were little commonwealths, with the local government of which the crown seldom interfered, so long as the revenue was collected, for the payment of which the municipal officers were themselves responsible. The mayor, or head man, especially bore this responsibility. In the earliest ages this person was elected; subsequently the appointment depended upon the sovereign; and, finally, as it became the custom to confer it upon the son, or adopted son, of the person who died in the office, it became hereditary. The post was deemed honourable, and the emolument was considerable, derived partly by royal stipend, and partly by municipal fees. The collection of revenue was rendered the more easy in the townships by the association of two officers—one called the accountant, answering pretty well to our English town clerks, as he was supposed to be conversant with the laws of revenue; the other was called the watchman, whose office nearly corresponded to our chiefs of civic police. Although this was the usual style of village communities, and their mode of land occupancy and revenue, there were in some places two separate classes in the communal circle. One of these was the owners of the land; the other included cultivators, labourers, shopkeepers, and various descriptions of temporary servants. The rights of the landholders were *collective*, and the distribution of proceeds was always so ordered as to preserve the recognition of this. In all villages there were two descriptions of tenants, who rented the land from the community of village proprietors, or from the crown, where the former class did not exist. Both classes were called *ryots*; one was temporary, the other permanent. The latter bequeathed their interest in the tenancy; they held a species of "tenant right." The former held his land by lease, or was a "tenant-at-will." Persons who, by caste prerogative, could not work, were allowed land on comparatively easy conditions, so that they might employ others. In certain portions of Southern India—such as Canara, Malabar, and Travancore—individuals held the "fee simple," or were subject to a certain fixed payment to the crown, but acted otherwise with their land as they thought proper. The zemindars originally derived their lands by grants from the king for military, political, or other services. Ecclesiastical lands were set apart for religious purposes, and were under the control of the confraternity of the temple or mosque to which the property appertained. It must be obvious from all these arrangements that the machinery of taxation was effective, and the expense of collecting the revenue comparatively little.

The Tartar conquerors of Hindoostan introduced various innovations, which tended to oppress the people both as to the tenure, assessment, and modes of collection, but chiefly as to the amounts levied, which were in many cases exorbitant; and also in selecting new objects of assessment—such as ploughs, music in ceremonies, marriages, &c. The result of these measures was to render the amount of revenue less certain, and ultimately less in value, for the people resisted the oppressions by cunning, evasion, abstraction of crops, falsification of accounts, and the bribery of municipal officers. The distinguished monarch Akbar Khan remedied many of these evils, and the meliorations he produced remained in more or less force until the power of England was established.

The general effects of the political and fiscal systems were unfavourable, although the evils were somewhat mitigated by the municipalities; yet even these narrowed the sympathies of the Hindoos, and were morally injurious in some respects, though they favoured morality in others. The municipal institutions have been very much overpraised by a certain class of writers, who are zealous to exalt everything native in India, at the expense of everything British; and to commend everything heathen and Hindoo, in comparison with what is Christian.

After two thousand years of bad government and oppression, of intestine strife and foreign invasion, European nations began to set up factories on the Indian peninsula for the purpose of trade. The English were not first in these enterprises, but they were the most resolute and persistent. During the whole of the sixteenth century the English made efforts more or less successful to open up a trade with India. On the last day of the sixteenth century Queen Elizabeth signed a charter, constituting a number of gentlemen, associated for the purpose of trade with India, "one body, corporate and politique." The title given to this association was, "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The charter was granted for fifteen years, unless in the meantime two years' notice was given of her majesty's intention to revoke it. Delays and impediments arose, and the funds of the company proved to be inadequate, so that it became necessary to form an auxiliary association, which was ultimately absorbed in the former, with the consent of the crown. The charter accorded powers to a governor and twenty-four directors to govern the new company. At first these officials were nominated by the crown, but afterwards they were elected by the body of the proprietors, which originally numbered two hundred and twenty persons, principally merchants. The charter vested in them, their sons, servants, apprentices, and factors, the exclusive privilege of trading "into the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the islands, ports, towns, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza or the Straits of Magellan, where any traffic may be used, and to and from every of them." The general assemblies of the company were empowered to make laws and regulations, not only for carrying on their commerce, but also to inflict punishments, provided they were not at variance with the laws of the realm. They were allowed to purchase lands without limitation, and for four years to export goods free of duty.

When the first fleets that conveyed merchandise, supercargoes, and servants of the company arrived in India, they found the impediments to successful commerce very great. They had no land on which to erect stores, nor means to protect themselves and their servants from peculation, plunder, or violence. Agents were sent to Delhi to negotiate for land, and privileges necessary for such purposes, which were all that the company then contemplated. The result was permission to establish factories at Surat, Cambay, &c., under circumstances which enabled the company to possess lands, and raise defences for their protection.

In 1609 the charter was renewed. In 1613 the imperial firman for the establishment of a factory at Surat was obtained. Sir Thomas Rowe, by his skill in the embassy to Ajmeer, obtained liberty of trade throughout the empire.

In 1634 a competitive company, called "The Assada Merchants," obtained from the Mogul liberty to trade at the port of Piplee, in Orissa. In 1644 this new association was amalgamated with the original company. In 1640 the rajah ruling that portion of the Coromandel coast permitted the erection of Fort St. George.

Some years afterwards an English physician named Broughton having cured the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, that munificent prince conceded to the English liberty to erect a factory on the Hoogly, which became the foundation of their subsequent dominion in Bengal. In 1650 the factory was built at Calcutta.

Cromwell, in 1657, abolished the company's exclusive privileges.

Charles II. renewed the charter in 1661, and confirmed to the company the Island of St. Helena, of which they had taken possession ten years before. The same year Charles married the Infanta Catherine of Portugal, and received as a part of her dower the Island of Bombay, which he made over to the company in 1668. The company began to fortify the island on taking possession of it.

In 1693 the charter was again renewed, after a formidable opposition in the House of Commons, which affirmed by vote the right of "every Englishman" to trade with the East.

A competitive company received a charter in 1698, under the title of "The General Society trading to the East Indies." Mr. Anderson, in his *History of Commerce*, represents the competition between the two companies as most disastrous, involving both in ruin. This state of things led to a coalition in 1702, under the title of "The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." The amalgamation of the two associations did not take place, however, until five years later.

In 1711 a statute of Queen Anne recognised the corporate capacity of the East India Company, and continued their privileges of trade. The managing committee in London at this juncture took the title of "Court of Directors." The government in India was conducted by a president and council at each of the stations. The civil functionaries were sent out under what was called covenanted service, the terms of which were, that they should obey all orders, discharge all debts, and treat the natives well. The presidents were commanders-in-chief at their respective stations. The garrisons were composed of recruits enlisted in England, deserters from the Dutch and Portuguese, half-castes, enlisted in India, and natives, chiefly Rajpoots, who were called *sipahies* (soldiers), a name which eventually was changed into one of easier pronunciation by English tongues—*sepoys*.

The character and progress of the company hitherto prepared the way for the vast territorial and political power which they were destined to assume. The great modern historian of Persia, who is also a great authority on Indian affairs, appropriately described the company's career up to this point:—"While we find in the first century of the history of the East India Company abundant proofs of their misconduct, we also discover a spirit of bold enterprise and determined perseverance, which no losses could impede, and no dangers subdue. To this spirit, which was created and nourished by their exclusive privileges, they owed their ultimate success. It caused them, under all reverses, to look forward with ardent hopes to future gains; and if it occasionally led them to stain their fame by acts of violence and injustice towards the assailants of their monopoly, it stimulated them to efforts, both in commerce and in war, that were honourable to the character of the British nation."

A new career of government and influence now opened upon the honourable company. In 1716 Mr. Hamilton, a British surgeon, who had been sent on a commercial and political mission to Delhi, obtained "a firman of privileges" from the Mogul:—

1. That the passport of the company's president should exempt all British goods from examination by the Mogul's government officers.

2. That the officers of the mint at Moorshedabad should give three days a week for the coinage of the company's money there.

3. That all debtors of the company should be delivered up on demand.

4. That the company might purchase the lordships of thirty-eight towns in Bengal, with certain specified immunities.

In 1744 George II. continued the privileges of the company. In two years after that the war with the French began, which lasted until 1761, and issued in the triumph of the company, the increase of its territory, and of its power and influence at home.

The conquests of Clive having still further increased the company's territory, George III., in 1767, by statute (7, cap. 57), guaranteed these territories for two years to the company upon their payment of £400,000. In 1769 this act was confirmed for five years.

The company having, in 1772, assumed the entire control of Bengal, a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the state of India. Nothing of a practical nature issued that session from the inquiry, which was renewed the next year. In that year the first provision was made for the government of India by the imperial parliament—statute 13 George III., cap. 63. Hitherto the election of the directors of the East India Company had been annual, but by this new act they were to be elected for certain terms of years. A governor-general and four councillors were appointed to conduct affairs in India, Fort William, at Calcutta, being made the seat of government. The act empowered the governor-general to frame ordinances and regulations, which, in order to have force, were to be registered in a supreme court constituted by the act, and holding its sessions at Calcutta. In the same year another act (13 George III., cap. 64) was passed, regulating the financial relations of the company and the government. This act also bound the company to export annually £380,837 worth of merchandise, exclusive of naval and military stores, but this obligation was only to last for two years. In consequence of these acts of the British legislature, Warren Hastings was appointed governor-general.

In 1781 (21 George III., cap. 65) the company's privileges were confirmed and continued for ten years, determinable thence after a three years' notice. The financial decrees of the English legislature were at the same time grasping, and unjust towards the company, which was to pay £400,000 per annum, their dividends to be limited to eight per cent., and after payment of it three-fourths of their surplus receipts were to be paid into the exchequer.

This settlement did not give satisfaction, and in 1782 a select committee of the commons sat on Indian affairs. In the result of that session, the year 1783 was made notable in the concerns of the East India Company by the celebrated bills of Mr. Fox. Only two years previously he was instrumental in breaking up "the board of plantations" and "the colonial department." It was near the close of the year that Fox introduced his measures: the first was for vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of seven directors, aided by nine proprietors. The board was to have the disposal of all patronage. The second bill was for the better government of the territorial possessions in India, the regulation of land tenures, and the abolition of monopolies. Neither of these bills passed, but their discussion prepared the way for the adoption of a policy towards the company by the imperial government which was destined to prevail, under various modifications, for three-quarters of a century. Pitt really derived his suggestions from Fox in the plans which he afterwards perfected. There can be no doubt that both these statesmen were influenced by a desire to frame a government for India the most likely to secure patronage and power for their respective parties; and that jealousy of the Whigs, and of liberal notions in general, moved both Pitt and his master, George III., to the opposition which the measures of Fox encountered from them.

In 1784 parliament again took up the question of Indian government. By 24 George III., cap. 25, the crown was authorised to appoint six privy councillors as commissioners for the affairs of India; three to form a quorum, and either the chancellor of the exchequer, or one of the secretaries of state, to be president. The power of the directors was increased in certain directions, and better defined in all respects. The right to fill up vacancies in the offices of governors at Fort St. George and Bombay, and in that of governor-general, was conceded to them. They were also empowered to recall the governor-general, to declare war, and to make peace. A secret committee was selected from the body of the directors, endowed with peculiar prerogatives. The supreme council at Calcutta, as constituted by the bill, was to consist of the governor-general and three councillors, the commander-in-chief to rank next in authority to his excellency. The commissioners appointed by the act were, in their collective capacity, called "the Board of Control." This was the *chef-d'œuvre* of Pitt's bill, and the scheme has never worked well. Mr. Washington Wilks, the editor of a journal in the north of England, well expressed the relation of "the board" to the company when he said, "The Board of Control never compelled the directors to do right, but often compelled them to do wrong when they would not." If this sentence is only to be received with some qualification, it is nevertheless a correct general description of the fact.

In the years 1786, 1813, 1833, and 1853, "Pitt's Act" received modifications, but the principles of the measure have remained as constituting the Anglo-Indian political system. The legislative power remained with the court of directors, who were the source of all civil, political, and military authority, and ostensibly held the right of dismissing governors, governors-general, commanders-in-chief, and all officers civil or military, of whatsoever grade, and exercising whatsoever functions. Still all these prerogatives were subject to the consent of the crown, given through the Board of Control, which revised all decisions and elections. The body of proprietors were consulted on all financial changes, and their suffrages were necessary in such matters, although it was a nominal rather than a real power which the proprietary exercised.

In 1793, by 33 George III., cap. 52, the territorial possessions of India, with their revenues, and the commercial privileges of the company, were continued for twenty years. The powers of the Board of Control were renewed, increased, and defined. The governor-general was invested with enlarged, and, in some cases, with even absolute powers. New enactments were also made for the regulation of the presidential governments.

The year 1813 was a year of great importance in the relations of the crown and company. Again for the space of twenty years the possessions of the company were continued, the expenses of their military establishments to be defrayed from their land revenue. Their exclusive trade with China for tea was also confirmed. As will be seen by the reader in an early chapter on the religions of India, provision was made in that year for an ecclesiastical establishment. The lease of twenty years held by the company from the crown expired in 1833, and another renewal for the same period was obtained. Various modifications of the company's charter were, however, insisted upon on the part of parliament and the crown. The trading privileges were abolished, in consequence of the outcry raised, especially against the monopoly of the China tea-trade, throughout the British Isles. A fixed dividend of ten and a half per cent. per annum was guaranteed to their stockholders, on condition of the company paying two millions sterling for the reduction of the national debt. The dividend, however, was subject to a redemption by parliament after April, 1784, on payment of £200 for every £100 of stock. Or if the company should be deprived of the government of India previously, then three years' notice made any time after the year 1854 would entitle the government to redeem the guarantee on the terms specified. The board of commissioners for the affairs of India (Board of Control) was remodelled—seven cabinet ministers were made *ex-officio* members. The authority of the board was also increased: it was empowered to demand copies of minutes of courts of proprietors and directors, and of all letters and despatches of importance which the directors proposed to send to India. Should the company refuse to give copies, or delay their transmission to the Board of Control for fourteen days, then the latter was authorised to frame despatches on the matter in question, whatever it might be, and the company was bound to send them to India. A still more important right was given to "the board," one which the company regarded as an unjustifiable encroachment; this was the power to alter and reduce the annual estimates for the company's home establishment. The board was also empowered to send despatches to India in the name of the directors, with the concurrence of any three members of "the secret committee."

The act of 1833 also modified the local government of India, which was vested in the governor-general and a council of four, three of them to be persons who had been in the civil or military service ten years, and one who had never been before in the service. This council should assemble whenever the governor-general might appoint, and pass such "acts" as they deemed proper for the welfare of India, subject to the sanction of the court of directors. Governors and councils of three were to administer affairs in the Bombay and Madras presidencies, without the power of making laws or granting money. These changes stung the court of proprietary and the directors to the quick, but their acquiescence was obtained, which was rendered possible by the patronage which the act conceded. All offices, from that of the governor-general to the lowest clerk or military cadet, were placed in the hands of the directors, except a certain reserve, as to cadets, held by the Board of Control. The crown, however, retained the right of confirming the choice in the higher appointments; and if the directors allowed any office to be vacant for more than two months, the Board of Control was entitled to fill it up. This bill was very particular in expressing the right of the imperial parliament to legislate for India, and it enacted that a statement of the company's finance should be annually laid before the houses of the legislature. Various important changes in the judicial arrangements of the company's courts, and in the rights of British-born subjects to purchase land and reside in India, were comprised in this bill. An important act was passed in 1835, giving power to the directors to suspend the operation of the bill of 1833, so far as related to the government of Agra; and the governor-general in council was enjoined to appoint in such case a lieutenant-governor for that province.

When the lease of power given to the company in 1833 expired in 1853, considerable agitation was raised in the country against the renewal of their charter. The constitutional jealousy of the English people led them to regard any corporate body with suspicion, which seemed to exercise powers that belonged only to the queen, lords, and commons in parliament assembled. Much of this feeling, as directed against the East India Company, arose from an imperfect acquaintance with the merits of the case, the history of the company's Indian affairs having previously excited very little attention, even amongst members of parliament and professed politicians. The existence of this jealous state of mind towards the company, which was very much fostered by the merchant class, was taken advantage of by the government of the day, which was anxious, as every preceding government had been, to acquire the patronage of India as a means of preserving office; and from the aristocratic sympathies of all cabinets, Whig and Tory, they were desirous to disperse the civil and military gifts among their own class, hitherto so largely bestowed by the company upon the middle ranks of British society.

Victoria 16, 17, cap. 95 confirmed all previous acts, except where they might prove inconsistent with its own enactments. No new lease was, however, extended to the company; their territorial jurisdiction, and all other rights and privileges held under the act of 1853 were to remain until parliament should provide otherwise. The constitution of the court of directors was remodelled; instead of twenty-four members it should consist of only eighteen, ten of whom to form a quorum. Of the eighteen directors, fifteen were to be chosen out of the then existing body by themselves; three were to be appointed by the crown. It was also provided that the crown nominees should gradually increase until the governing body should consist of six such, with twelve elected members, the whole of the former, and half of the latter to consist of persons who should have resided ten years in India. No person to sit as a director unless he possessed £1000 East India stock. Each director was to receive a salary of £500 per annum, and the chairman and deputy-chairman £1000 each. These sums were ridiculously small, some of the officials in the India-house having larger salaries, and rendering services which deserved such a requital. The directors, if made stipendiaries at all, should have been paid on a scale of remuneration adequate to their vast responsibility and labour. The quorum of the general court of proprietors was fixed at twenty.

This act also instituted changes in the council of India. The fourth member of council was placed on the same footing as the three colleagues who had necessarily served in India in some other capacity. Previously this officer had no vote: by the new act his authority was made identical with that of his fellow-members. There were added to the council four new members, entitled to sit and vote only when laws and regulations were made. These officers were thus selected: the chief-justice of the supreme court of India, *ex officio;* one of the judges of that court; and a civil officer of ten years' standing in each of the presidencies of Bombay and Madras. In addition to these especial members of council taking part only in matters of law, the governor-general had power himself to appoint two company's servants being of ten years' standing. All these appointments subject to the approbation of her majesty, that is, to the Board of Control.

Previous to the act of 1853, the commander-in-chief of the queen's army in India was not necessarily commander-in-chief of the company's army: by this statute he became *ex officio* invested with that authority. The number of European troops which the company was to be permitted to employ was fixed at twenty thousand as a maximum. The crown was authorised to appoint law commissioners to report on legal reforms. The directors received power to enlarge the limits of presidencies, to create a new presidency, and appoint a lieutenant-governor. The latter provision pointed to the north-west provinces, or "Agra government." Very important alterations were made in the company's patronage; the civil service, and the posts of assistant-surgeons to the forces, were thrown open to competition. The Board of Control was invested with the right of making regulations in reference to all parts of the service, as to admission and age of candidates at Haileybury and Addiscomb, the civil and military colleges of the company in England. It was provided that the Board of Control should not ostensibly alter or regulate matters connected with the colleges; all arrangements made by it were to be laid before parliament. The action of the Board of Control in reference to Haileybury soon assumed an adverse character, for in 1855 a bill was brought into parliament, under the auspices of the president, entitled "An Act to relieve the East India Company from the obligation to maintain the college of Haileybury." It was provided that no students should be admitted after the 1st of January, 1856, and that it should be closed on January 30th, 1858.

It will enable the reader fully to comprehend, and easily to remember, the progress of imperial legislation in reference to the constitution of the company, to place before him the leading articles of the act of 1793, with notes of the addenda, or alterations made by subsequent acts. The act of 1793 is known as 33 George III., cap. 52, and is called, "An Act for continuing in the East India Company, for a further term, the Possession of the British Territories in India, together with their exclusive Trade, under certain limitations; for establishing further Regulations for the Government of the said Territories, and the better Administration of Justice within the same; for appropriating to certain uses the Revenues and Profits of the said Company; and for making provision for the good Order and Government of the Towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay." The name of the act sufficiently indicates its object, so as to render the preamble unnecessary. The second section of the act was of great importance:

> § II.—And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs or successors, by any letters patent, or by any commission or commissions to be issued under the Great Seal of Great Britain, from time to time to nominate, constitute, and appoint, during his or their pleasure, such members of the privy council (of whom the two principal secretaries of state, and the chancellor of the exchequer for the time being, shall always be three), and such other two persons as his majesty, his heirs or successors, shall think fit to be, and who shall accordingly be and be styled commissioners for the affairs in India.

This was the basis of the Board of Control; but by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, secs. 19 and 20, the constitution of the board is in some respects varied. The office of commissioner is not restricted to members of the privy council, and the following great officers of state are to be *ex officio* commissioners:—the lord president of the council, the lord privy seal, the first lord of the treasury, the principal secretaries of state (then three, now four), and the chancellor of the exchequer. The act of 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, was passed on the 28th of August, 1833, and was entitled, "An Act for effecting an Arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better Government of His Majesty's Indian Territories till the 30th day of April, 1854."

> § III.—And be it further enacted, that any three or more of the said commissioners shall and may form a board, for executing the several powers which by this act, or by any other act or acts, are or shall be given to or vested in the said commissioners; and that the first-named commissioner in any such letters patent or commission for the time being shall be the president of the said board; and that when any board shall be formed in the absence of the president, the commissioner whose name shall stand next in the order of their nomination in the said commission, of those who shall be present, shall for that turn preside at the said board.

This provision was subsequently altered, for by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 21, two commissioners are sufficient to constitute a board.

§ IV.—The president to have the casting vote.

§ V.—The board to appoint officers; their salaries to be fixed by his majesty. The whole of the salaries, charges, and expenses of the board, exclusive of the salaries of the members of the board, not to exceed the sum of eleven thousand pounds in any one year.

By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 23, it is enacted, that no commissioner as such, except the president, shall receive a salary; and by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 33, the salary of the president is in no case to be less than that paid to one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 90, the total amount of salaries and charges is fixed at twenty-six thousand pounds, exclusive, however, of superannuations granted under section 91 of that act. Provision is made by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 6, for extraordinary charges arising out of the cessation of the company's trade; but by section 110 the sum payable by the company on account of the board is not to be increased beyond the fixed amount, except for defraying those charges. The act 53 George III., cap. 155, was passed on the 21st of July, 1813, and was entitled, "An Act for continuing in the East India Company for a further Term the British Territories in India, together with certain exclusive Privileges; for establishing further Regulations for the Government of the said Territories, and the better Administration of Justice within the same; and for regulating the Trade to and from the Places within the limits of the said Company's Charter." The act 16 & 17, Victoria, cap. 95, was passed on the 20th of August, 1853, and was entitled, "An Act for the better Government of India."

§ VI.—Commissioners to take the following oath:—

"I, *A. B.*, do faithfully promise and swear that, "as a commissioner or member of the board for "the affairs of India, I will give my best advice and "assistance for the good government of the British "possessions in the East Indies, and the due administration of the revenues of the same, according "to law, and will execute the several powers and "trusts reposed in me according to the best of my "skill and judgment, without favour or affection, "prejudice or malice, to any person whatever."

Which oath any two of the said commissioners shall and are hereby empowered to administer to the others of them, or any of them; and the said oath shall be entered by their chief secretary amongst the acts of the board, and be duly ascribed and attested by the said commissioners, at the time of their taking and administering the same to each other respectively.

§ VII.—And be it further enacted, that the several secretaries and other officers of the said board shall also take and subscribe before the said board such oath of secrecy, and for the execution of the duties of their respective stations, as the said board shall direct.

In 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 24, this section is modified, the commissioners being empowered to administer such oath only in case of its being necessary.

§ VIII.—Appointments of commissioner or chief secretary not to disqualify from being elected to parliament.

By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 23, the board was to appoint two secretaries, each of whom was to have the same powers, rights, and privileges as were previously vested in the chief secretary; but by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 33, one only of the said secretaries is to be capable of sitting in parliament.

§ IX.—Board to superintend all concerns relating to the civil or military government or revenues in the East Indies.

By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 6, the power of control is extended to all acts connected with the sale of the company's commercial property.

§ X.—Commissioners, or their officers, to have access to the books of the company.

This provision was subsequently enlarged, for by 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 78, the board may direct the preparation of such accounts, statements, and abstracts, as they may think fit.

§ XI.—Court of Directors to deliver to the board copies of all proceedings, and of despatches relating to the civil or military government or revenues.

This provision was extended by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 29, to all documents which shall be material, or which the board may require.

§ XII.—Orders relating to the civil or military government or revenues to be submitted to the consideration of the board, who may alter the same, but must return such documents to the court of directors within fourteen days.

By later enactments the power of control is extended to all official communications, except those with the home establishment, and the law advisers of the company. 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, secs. 30 and 34. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 71, and by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 30, the time for returning drafts of despatches, &c., from the board is extended to two months.

§ XIII.—Provided always, and be it further enacted, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to restrict or prohibit the said directors from expressing by representation in writing to the said board, such remarks, or observations, or explanations as shall occur, or they shall think fit, touching or concerning any letters, orders, or instructions, which shall have been varied in substance, or disapproved by the said board; and that the said board shall, and they are hereby required, to take every such representation, and the several matters therein contained or alleged, into their consideration, and to give such further orders or instructions thereupon as they shall think fit and expedient; which orders or instructions shall be final and conclusive upon the said directors.

By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 32, the time for making such representation is limited to fourteen days; subject, in cases where the legality of the order is disputed, to a reference to three or more judges of the court of the Queen's Bench.

§ XIV.—Provided also, and be it further enacted and declared, that nothing in this act contained shall extend to give to the board of commissioners the power of nominating or appointing any of the servants of the said united company, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

By 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 29, the approbation of the board is made necessary to the validity of the appointment of any advocate-general.

§ XV.—If the directors neglect to frame despatches beyond fourteen days after requisition, the board may prepare instructions, and the directors shall forward them to India.

This provision was extended to all official communications by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 31.

Section 16 restricted the interference of the board to matters of civil or military government and revenue; and where the right should be disputed, authorised an application to the king in council. Neither of these provisions is now in force.

§ XVII.—The board not to direct the increase of established salaries, unless proposed by the directors, and laid before parliament.

This provision is taken from 28 George III., cap. 8, sec. 3, and in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 110. An exception was made for servants employed in winding up the commercial business of the company.

§ XVIII.—The board not to direct any gratuity but such as shall be proposed by the directors.

In 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 110, the same exception as in the previous section of this act is made.

§ XIX.—The board may send orders to secret committee of directors, who shall transmit the same to India.

§ XX.—And be it further enacted, that the said court of directors shall from time to time appoint a secret committee, to consist of any number not exceeding three of the said directors, for the particular purposes in this act specified; which said directors so appointed shall, before they or any of them shall act in the execution of the powers and trusts hereby reposed in them, take an oath of the tenor following. . . . . Which said oath shall and may be administered by the several and respective members of the said secret committee to each other; and, being so by them taken and subscribed, the same shall be recorded by the secretary of the said court of directors for the time being amongst the acts of the said court.

The prescribed oath is here omitted, having been replaced by others in 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 74, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 84, sec. 35. The latter is merely an abbreviation of the former, and thus runs:

> "I, *A. B.*, do swear that I will, according to my "best skill and judgment, faithfully execute the seve-"ral trusts and powers reposed in me as a member "of the secret committee of the India Company; I "will not disclose or make known any of the secret "orders, instructions, despatches, official letters, or "communications, which shall be sent or given to "me by the commissioners for the affairs of India, "save only to the other members of the said secret "committee, or to the person or persons who shall "be duly nominated or employed in transcribing or "preparing the same respectively, unless I shall be "authorised by the said commissioners to make "known the same."

The directions for the appointment of a secret committee, and the administration of an oath to its members, are repeated in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 35, where also it is provided that the record may be made either by the secretary or the deputy-secretary.

§ XXI.—Despatches of the secret committee to be prepared only by the secretary or examiner of Indian correspondence, who shall take an oath of secrecy.

§ XXII.—Presidencies in India may send despatches to the secret committee, who shall deliver them to the board.

By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 73, the rule of secrecy with respect to despatches addressed by order of the board *to* the governments of India is applied to the contents of despatches received by the secret committee *from* those governments.

§ XXIII.—And be it further enacted, that no order or resolution of the court of directors of the said company, touching or concerning the civil or military government, or revenues of the said territories and acquisitions in India, after the same shall have received the approbation of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, shall be liable to be rescinded, suspended, revoked, or varied, by any general court of proprietors of the said company.

Section 24 contains provisions for the constitution of the governments of the three presidencies, which are superseded by the later provisions contained in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85. These will be noticed on another page.

§ XXV.—And be it further enacted, that all vacancies happening in the office of governor-general of Fort

William, in Bengal, or of any members of the council there, or of governor of either of the company's presidencies or settlements of Fort St. George or Bombay, or of any of the members of the council of the same respectively, or of governor of the forts and garrisons at Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or of commander-in-chief of all the forces in India, or of any provincial commander-in-chief of the forces there, all and every of such vacancies shall be filled up and supplied by the court of directors of the said united company, the vacancies of any of the said members of council being always supplied from amongst the list of senior merchants of the said company, who shall have respectively resided twelve years in India in their service, and not otherwise, except as is hereinafter otherwise provided.

The approbation of the crown is now necessary to the appointment of governor-general, governors of subordinate presidencies, members of council, whether of the council of India, or of any subordinate presidency. Changes to this effect were made by 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 80, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, secs. 42, 58, and 61, in reference to governor-generals and governors. As to the appointment of the fourth ordinary member of the council of India, by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40; as to members of council generally, by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 20. By 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 30, any person appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the crown in India is, by virtue of such appointment, to be commander-in-chief of all the company's forces in India, and the commander-in-chief of the royal forces in any presidency is to be commander-in-chief of the company's forces in such presidency. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 82, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40, the twelve years' residence required as a qualification for councillor is reduced to ten. Under the same section of the act last mentioned, military officers having completed the required period of service are eligible for appointment to the council of India, and the *fourth* ordinary member of that council is to be a person not previously in the service of the company. In the above section, and in numerous acts antecedent to 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, the functionary holding the chief place of authority in India is named Governor-general of Fort William, in Bengal. By section 39 of the act last mentioned, the office of governor-general of India was created, and by section 52 all powers given to the governor-general of Fort William, in Bengal, in council or alone, by former acts then in force, and not repugnant to 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, were to apply to the governor-general of India in council, and to the governor-general of India alone, respectively.

§ XXVI.—If the directors neglect to fill up vacancies, his majesty may supply them.

In 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 60, this provision is repeated.

§ XXVII.—And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the said court of directors to appoint any person or persons provisionally to succeed to any of the offices aforesaid, for supplying any vacancy or vacancies therein, when the same shall happen by the death or resignation of the person or persons holding the same office or offices respectively, or on his or their departure from India, or on any event or contingency expressed in any such provisional appointment or appointments to the same respectively, and such appointments again to revoke; but that no person so appointed to succeed provisionally to any of the said offices shall be entitled to any authority, salary, or emolument appertaining thereto, until he shall be in the actual possession of such office, any act or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 61, repeats this provision. In 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 20, the appointment of ordinary members of council, whether of India or of the subordinate presidencies, is made subject to the approbation of the crown.

Section 28 provides that nothing in this act shall extend to vacate or disturb any previous appointment, lawfully made.

§ XXIX.—How vacancies are to be supplied when no successors are on the spot.

§ XXX.—The next member of council to the commander-in-chief to succeed to the temporary government of a presidency, unless the commander-in-chief shall have been provisionally appointed.

§ XXXI.—Vacancy of counsellors, when no successors are on the spot, to be supplied by the governor in council from the senior merchants.

§ XXXII.—The commander-in-chief, when not the governor at the presidency, may, by the authority of the directors, be the second member of the council.

This provision was repeated in 45 George III., cap. 36, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40.

§ XXXIII.—The commander-in-chief in India, not being governor-general, while resident at Fort St. George or Bombay, shall be a member of the council.

§ XXXIV.—If any member shall be incapable of attending, the governor of the presidency may call to the council a provisional successor, &c.

§ XXXV.—His majesty, by sign-manual, countersigned by the president of the board, may remove any officer or servant of the company in India.

This enactment was confirmed by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 74.

§ XXXVI.—The act not to preclude the directors from recalling their officers or servants.

The right of the directors in this respect is more fully recognised in 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 80; 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 75; and sec. 60 of 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85.

§ XXXVII.—Departure from India of any governor-general, &c., with intent to return to Europe, to be deemed a resignation of employment, &c. While at the presidency, no resignation of a governor-general, &c., to be valid, except delivered in writing to the secretary. Regulation respecting salaries.

This provision was amended and extended in the acts of 1813 and 1853.

§ XXXVIII.—Councils, in the first place, to consider matters proposed by the governor, who may postpone any matters proposed by councillors.

§ XXXIX.—Proceedings to be expressed to be made by the governor and council, and signed by the secretary.

Repeated in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 57.

§ XL.—The governor-general in council at Fort William empowered to superintend the other presidencies.

This provision was repeated in 13 George III., cap. 63, sec. 9. By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 39, the superintendence, direction, and control of the whole civil and military government of India is vested in the governor-general in council; by section 59 of that act the subordinate governments are not to make or suspend laws excepting under urgent necessity, and then only provisionally; nor to create any new office, nor to grant any salary, allowance, or gratuity, without the sanction of the governor-general in council; by section 65 they are bound to obey the instructions and orders of the governor-general in council in all cases whatsoever.

§ XLI.—The other presidencies to obey the orders of the governor-general in council at Fort William, if not repugnant to instructions from England. Governor-general to send dates, &c., of despatches from England, on points contained in instructions to presidencies, &c., who shall transmit to him copies of any orders they deem repugnant thereto.

The next section discloses the policy of the East India Company in the days of Pitt, and this policy was recognised by every board of control and every board of direction since. It was in the personal dispositions of governors-general, and the necessities of the case, that the causes of war in India, issuing in the increase of territory, are to be sought.

§ XLII.—And forasmuch as to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation, be it further enacted, that it shall not be lawful for the governor-general in council of Fort William, without the express command and authority of the court of directors, or of the secret committee by the authority of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, in any case (except where hostilities have actually been commenced, or preparations actually made for the commencement of hostilities, against the British nation in India, or against some of the princes or states dependent thereon, or whose territories the said united company shall be at such time engaged by any subsisting treaty to defend or guarantee), either to declare war or commence hostilities, or enter into any treaty for making war against any of the country princes or states in India, or any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any country princes or states; and that in any such case it shall not be lawful for the governor-general and council to declare war or to commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any other prince or state, than such as shall be actually committing hostilities, or making preparations, or to make such treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any prince or state, but upon the consideration of such prince or state actually engaging to assist the company against such hostilities commenced, or preparations made as aforesaid; and in all cases where hostilities shall be commenced, or treaty made, the governor-general and council shall, by the most expeditious means they can devise, communicate the same unto the said court of directors, or to the said secret committee, together with a full state of the information and intelligence upon which they shall have commenced such hostilities, or made such treaties, and their motives and reasons for the same at large.

§ XLIII.—The governments of Fort St. George or Bombay not to declare war, &c., but by orders from Fort William or the directors, &c. The penalty on the governors, &c., of Fort St. George and Bombay for neglect of orders from Fort William to be suspension or dismissal from their posts.

§ XLIV.—The Presidencies of Fort St. George, &c., to send to Fort William copies of all their orders, &c.

This enactment was renewed in 13 George III., cap. 63, sec. 9, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 68.

§ XLV.—The governor-general of Fort William may issue warrants for securing suspected persons as to any treasonable acts or correspondence. Proceedings to be had where reasonable grounds for the charge shall appear against such persons, or they shall be held in custody until convenient opportunity is found for sending them to India.

§ XLVI.—The governors of Fort St. George and Bombay to have the like powers with respect to suspected persons as the governor-general.

§ XLVII.—The governor-general or governors may order measures proposed in council about which they differ from the other members to be adopted or suspended, &c.

3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 49. This measure was ostensibly passed to give "energy, vigour, and despatch to the measures and proceedings of the executive government."

§ XLVIII.—The governor-general, &c., making any order without the council, reponsible for the same.

§ XLIX.—The governor-general, &c., not to make any order which could not have been made with the consent of the council.

§ L.—No person to act without the concurrence of the council, on whom the office of governor-general or governor shall devolve by death, unless provisionally appointed.

Renewed by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 62.

§ LI.—Provided also, and be it further enacted, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to give power or authority to the governor-general of Fort William, in Bengal, or either of the governors of Fort St. George or Bombay respectively, to make or carry into execution any order or resolution against the opinion or concurrence of the counsellors of their respective governments, in any matter which shall come under the consideration of the said governor-general, and governors in council respectively, in their judicial capacity; or to make, repeal, or suspend any general rule, order, or regulation for the good order and civil government of the said united company's settlements; or to impose, of his own authority, any tax or duty within the said respective governments or presidencies.

With regard to the subordinate presidencies, it must be recollected that the governments of those presidencies have no longer the power of legislation.

Section 52 provided that when the governor-general should visit either of the subordinate presidencies, the powers of the governor of such subordinate presidency should for the time be suspended. But by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 67, it is enacted that those powers should not, by reason of such visit, be suspended.

Section 53 provides that, when the governor-general should be absent from his own government of Bengal, a member of the council of that presidency, nominated by the governor-general, should be vice-president and deputy-governor of Fort William. This it has been thought unnecessary to insert, inasmuch as by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 70, the governor-general of India in council may nominate some member of the council of India to exercise the powers of the governor-general in assemblies of the said council during his absence, under the title of president; and by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 16, power is given to the court of directors to declare that the governor-general of India shall not be governor of Fort William, and thereupon a governor of that presidency is to be appointed in the usual way; or authority may be given to the governor-general in council to appoint a servant of ten years' standing to be lieutenant-governor of such part of the presidency of Fort William as may not at the time be under the lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces. The latter measure has been carried out.

§ LIV.—The governor-general, while absent, may issue orders to the officers and servants of the other presidencies, &c.

§ LV.—The directors, with the approbation of the board, may suspend the powers of the governor-general to act upon his own authority.

§ LVI.—No civil servants under the rank of member of council to be promoted but by seniority.

§ LVII.—If the salary of a vacant post exceeds five hundred pounds per annum, the candidate cannot be promoted unless he has resided three years in India.

The period of qualification for the higher salaries has been varied by more recent legislation. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 82, it is fixed at four years for a salary exceeding £1500; at seven years for a salary exceeding £3000; at ten years for a salary exceeding £4000; which last term (ten years) in service, either civil or military, also forms the qualification for a seat in council, by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40; for the appointment of lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces, by 5 & 6 William IV., cap. 52; for that of lieutenant-governor of Fort William, by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 16; and by section 22 of the act last quoted for the office of legislative councillor, thereby created. By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40, no previous service is required from the fourth ordinary member of the council of India, but it is expressly required that he shall be selected from persons not servants of the company. By 47 George III., cap. 68, sec. 7, and 10 George IV., cap. 16, sec. 2, the time spent at Haileybury is, under certain circumstances, to be reckoned as time spent in India with reference to eligibility to office or salary.

§ LVIII.—No person to hold two offices, the salaries of which amount to more than the prescribed sum.

§ LIX.—The directors not to send out more persons than necessary to supply the complement of the establishment.

Also 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 103.

§ LX.—No person shall be capable of acting, or being appointed or sent to India, in the capacity of writer or cadet, whose age shall be under fifteen years, or shall exceed twenty-two years, nor until the person proposed, or intended to be so appointed, shall have delivered to the said court of directors a certificate of his age, under the hand of the minister of the parish in which he was baptised, or keeper of the registry of baptism of such parish; and if no such registry can be found, an affidavit of that circumstance shall be made by the party himself, with his information and belief that his age is not under fifteen years, and doth not exceed twenty-two years; provided, nevertheless, that the said restriction shall not extend to prevent the said court of directors from appointing any person to be a cadet who shall have been for the space of one year at least a commissioned officer in his majesty's service, or in the militia or fencible men when embodied, and hath been called into actual service, or from the company of cadets in the royal regiment of artillery, and whose age shall not exceed twenty-five years.

The age has been extended, as to writers, to twenty-three years, by 7 William IV. and 1 Victoria, cap. 70, secs. 4 and 5.

§ LXI.—British-born subjects appointed to receive rents, &c., to take an oath.

The object of this section was to prevent servants of the company receiving bribes.

§ LXII.—Receiving gifts to be deemed a misdemeanour.

Repeated in 13 George III., cap. 63, secs. 23 and 24, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 76.

§ LXIII.—The court may order gifts to be restored, and fines to be given to the prosecutor.

§ LXIV.—Counsellors at law, &c., may take fees in their professions.

Renewed by 13 George III., cap. 63, sec. 25.

§ LXV.—Neglect to execute the orders of the directors, &c., to be deemed a misdemeanour.

Recited in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 80.

§ LXVI.—Making any corrupt bargain for giving up or obtaining any employment also to be deemed a misdemeanour.

§ LXVII.—His majesty's subjects amenable to courts of justice in India and Great Britain for offences in the territories of native princes.

§ LXVIII.—No action to be stayed without the approbation of the board.

§ LXIX.—The company not to release sentences, or restore servants dismissed by sentences.

By 51 George III., cap. 75, secs. 4 and 5, it is declared that the above does not extend to the case of military officers dismissed or suspended from the service by sentence of court-martial, but that such may, with the approbation of the board, be restored.

§ LXX.—No person under the degree of a member of council or commander-in-chief, who shall not return to India within five years from his leave to depart, shall be entitled to rank, unless in the case of any civil servant of the company it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the court of directors that such absence was occasioned by sickness or infirmity, or unless such person be permitted to return with his rank to India by a vote or resolution passed by way of ballot by three parts in four of the proprietors assembled in general court, especially convened for that purpose, whereof eight days' previous notice of the time and purpose of such meeting shall be given in the *London Gazette*, or unless in the case of any military officer, it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the said court of directors, and the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, that such absence was occasioned by sickness or infirmity, or by some inevitable accident.

Section 71 secures to the company the exclusive trade, subject to a subsequent proviso for its determination.

Section 72 provided that the company should at all times thereafter, subject as above, enjoy all the benefits of previous acts and charters, except as by this act repealed, varied, and altered.

Section 73 contains a proviso for the termination of the exclusive trade, upon three years' notice.

Section 74 provided that after the termination of the exclusive trade the corporation should have the right to trade in common with other subjects of the crown; but the exercise of its trade is suspended by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85. Section 75 regulates the mode of parliamentary notice to the company. Sections 76 to 106 relate to trade; sections 107 to 122 to financial matters of temporary interest. Section 123 provides that the appropriations made by this act (33 George III., cap. 52) shall not affect the rights of the company or the public as to the territory or the revenue beyond the term of the exclusive trade granted by the act. Section 124 relates to the appropriation of certain monies, and has at this time no interest or importance. It may here be observed that the latest enactments for the disposition of the revenues of India will be found in the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, to be noticed on another page.

§ CXXV.—No grant of salaries, &c., above two hundred pounds to be good, unless confirmed by the board.

This provision depended upon the continuance of the company's right to exclusive trade. The exclusive trade with India terminated in 1814; that with China in 1834; but the 53 George III., cap. 155 (sec. 2), continued for the term thereby granted, all enactments, provisions, matters, and things, contained in the 33 George III., cap. 52, and in any other acts limited to the term granted by the said act of the 33 George III., so far as they were in force, and not repealed by or repugnant to the act 53 George III., cap. 155; and by the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 2, all enactments, &c., of former acts limited to the term granted by 53 George III., cap. 155, are continued, so far as they were in force at the time of passing the new act (3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85), and were not repealed thereby or repugnant thereto. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 88, and 55 George III., cap. 64, the approval of the board is required to give effect to gratuities exceeding £600. By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 37, it is enacted that an estimate is to be submitted to the board of the sum required for the home establishment, and incidental expenses of the East India Company, which sum, when approved in the gross, is to be applied at the discretion of the court of directors, free from any interference of the board. All expenditure beyond this sum, including salaries, gratuities, and allowances, is subject to the general rule of superintendence by the board. See section 25 of the above act, 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85.

§ CXXVI.—The directors to lay revenue accounts before parliament within the first fourteen sitting days of March in every year.

By 54 George III., cap. 36, sec. 55, the accounts were to be made up to the 1st of May, and presented to parliament within the first fourteen sitting days after that period. By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 116, the accounts are to be presented within the first fourteen sitting days after the 1st of May, and to be made up according to the latest advices. By that act also some changes are made in the particulars of the required accounts, adapting them to the altered circumstances of the company, all relating to trade being omitted. Section 127 provides for the reciprocal discharge of the crown and the company in respect of certain accounts between them, up to the 24th of December, 1792. A similar arrangement to a later date was effected by 3 George IV., cap. 93.

Among other matters in the settlement above referred to was that of military charges. The subsequent provision for these is the subject of the following section :—

§ CXXVIII.—From the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, the expenses of troops to be repaid by the company.

Sections 129 to 136 contained penal enactments against persons trading, and provisions for the confiscation of their ships and goods.

§ CXXXVII.—No governor-general, &c., to trade, except on account of the company. No judge to be concerned in any trade. No person whatever to be concerned in the inland trade in salt, &c., except with the company's permission.

By act of government of India, No. 15 of 1848, no officer of any court established by royal charter within the territories of the East India Company is to be concerned in any dealings as a banker, trader, agent, factor, or broker, except such as may be part of the duty of his office.

Sections 138 and 139 relate to trade.

Section 140 relates to the prosecution of offences against this act.

Section 141 enacts how actions shall be laid, and states the limitation of actions, and process.

Sections 142 to 145 referred to legal proceedings against clandestine traders. By section 146 the following enactments of earlier date are repealed :—So much of 9 & 10 William III., cap. 44, as inflicts penalty or forfeiture for illegally trading to the East Indies; the whole of the 5 George I., cap. 21, intended for the protection of the company's trade, and all enactments continuing the same; so much of the 7 George I., cap. 21, as relates to the punishment of persons illegally trading to the East Indies; the whole of the 9 George I., cap. 26, for preventing a subscription for an East India Company in the Austrian Netherlands, and for protection of the lawful trade of his majesty's subjects; so much of the 3 George II., cap. 14, and so much of 27 George II., cap. 17, as creates any penalty with reference to 7 George I., cap. 21, for the mode of suing, distributing, and recovering such penalty; so much of 10 George III., cap. 47, as subjects persons concerned in illicit trade to penalties; so much of 13 George III., cap. 53, as provides for delivery by the company of letters of advice to the secretaries of state, makes it unlawful for the governor-general, the members of council of Bengal, the chief justice or judges of the supreme court there, or revenue officers, to carry on trade, or prohibits dealing in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, or rice, or restrains from trading free merchants, free mariners, or others whose covenant shall be expired; and so much of 21 George III., cap. 65, as prohibits lending money to foreign companies, or restrains the court of directors from stopping suits for penalties thereby incurred; the whole of the 24 George III., sess. 2, cap. 25, excepting so much as relates to the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, redress to native landholders, and such parts as remained in force for the establishment of a court of judicature; the whole of 26 George III., cap. 16, excepting the repealing clauses; and so much of 26 George III., cap. 57, as makes offences against the law for securing the exclusive trade of the company enforceable in the East Indies. It will be observed that the subjects of several of the repealed enactments form the matter of new enactments in this act—as the interdiction of trade to the governor-general, governors, members of council, judges of the supreme court, and revenue officers, and the limitation of the trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, &c. See section 137. Section 147 provides that the repeal shall not extend to offences committed before the passing of this act; section 148, that it should not affect the powers of the board previously in existence till a new board should be appointed; section 149, that it should not affect the powers given by 28 George III., cap. 8, and 31 George III., cap. 10, concerning expenses of additional forces in the East Indies; section 150, that should not bar actions.

§ CLI.—Power given to the governor-general in council of Fort William, &c., to appoint justices of the peace, which said justices not to sit in courts of Oyer and Terminer unless called upon.

The 47 George III., sess. 2, cap. 68, sec. 6, repeals so much of the above as authorizes the governor-general in council to appoint justices of the peace for Fort St. George or Bombay, that authority being given by section 5 to the governor in council of the respective presidencies. The 2 & 3 William IV., cap. 117, sec. 1, removes the restriction as to British inhabitants, and renders eligible all persons not subjects of a foreign state. By act of government of India, No. 6 of 1845, the power of issuing separate commissions is given.

§ CLII.—No person capable of acting as a justice of the peace till he has taken the requisite oaths.

The remaining sections, up to 160, are of limited interest, referring to rights and prerogatives of justice and civic regulations of the presidential capitals, and acts of the government of India unnecessary to introduce here.

§ CLX.—And be it further enacted, that every person who shall hereafter be elected a director of the said company shall, within ten days next after his election, and before he shall take that office upon him (save only the administering the oath hereinafter mentioned, instead of the oath now prescribed to be taken by persons elected directors of the said company), take the following oath (that is say); . . . . which said oath shall be signed by the person or persons taking the same, and shall be administered by any two of the directors of the said company, who also shall sign and attest the same; and in case any person so to be elected a director of the said company shall refuse or neglect to take the said oath within the time aforesaid, his office or place as a director of the said company shall become void.

By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 76, the year and title of *that* act were to be inserted instead of the year and title of the act by which the oath is prescribed; but the 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 13, directs another form of oath *instead* of that previously taken; and the form given in this act is consequently omitted. That in the act of Victoria is as follows:—

> "I, *A. B.*, do swear that I will be faithful to her "majesty Queen Victoria, and will, to the best of "my ability, perform the duty assigned to me as a "director of the East India Company, in the administration of the government of India in trust for "the crown."

Section 161 related to deposits on teas bought at the company's sales; section 162 limited the time for the commencement of proceedings under this act; and section 163 fixed the date of the commencement of the act.

Having given a general outline of the acts which have regulated the constitution of the East India Company, the Board of Control, the governor-general and council in India, and all of these in relation to each other, it remains to show the actual working of the system. In doing so the provisions of the statutes not necessarily brought into notice in the review just given, will be referred to as occasion arises.

THE HOME GOVERNMENT.

The constitution of the board of directors has been shown in the foregoing pages. The practice, as to the chairman and deputy-chairman, is for the directors to elect such annually from their own body, but the deputy-chairman of one year is generally the chairman of the next, in which capacity he also serves for one year. The directors, until 1853, had the power vested in them of all ecclesiastical, legal, naval, and military appointments. In that year, by the act 16 & 17 Victoria, the appointments to the civil service were thrown open to public competition. The directors still have authority to originate all measures for the government of India, all grants of money at home and in India, also the patronage of all ecclesiastical, naval, and military appointments. The mode of distributing the patronage, is for each director to have an equal share, except the chairman and deputy-chairman, whose proportions are greater. The Board of Control has unconstitutionally intruded into this department, and what was originally asked as a courtesy, has for some time been looked upon as a right. The directors nominate general officers, as the staff of the company's army; the superintendent of the Indian navy, the master attendant in Bengal and in Madras, and volunteers (who are appointed in rotation by the directors) for the pilot service; officers of the mint, such as assay masters; the law officers of the presidencies, and the members of the general and presidential councils, except the fourth member of the general council, who must have the sanction of the Board of Control. The patronage of appointment to the great offices has been shown in the abstracts of the different acts relating to Indian government already given. The court of directors meet weekly (usually on the Wednesday) for the transaction of business, the details of which are conducted by committees. There are four of these committees,—the secret; the finance and home; the political and military; the revenue, judicial, and legislative.

The functions of the secret committee have been indicated in the abstracts already given of the different acts legislating for India. It is the medium of communication with the government in India, and with the Board of Control, especially in relation to peace or war, the acquisition of territory, and transactions with native princes. The committee consists of three members, who are supposed to be elected by the rest of the directors, but are generally taken *ex officio*, the chairman, deputy-chairman, and senior director, being the persons to whom the important trust is committed It is questionable whether this plan is wise, for although the chairman and deputy-chairman have the general confidence of the committee, and the senior director will be, of course, a man of very great experience, yet the nomination to such an important trust by any routine process has its dangers, when election by ballot, on the ground of capacity alone, ought to determine who should hold a charge so responsible. The papers of the secret committee are in charge of the examiner at the India-house, who is also clerk to the committee. The other committees superintend the departments of government to which they are specifically designated.

The general court, or court of proprietors, consists of holders of East India stock. All holders of £500 stock are entitled to attend the court and speak; all who hold £1000 stock have the additional right of voting. The latter class now number about eighteen hundred persons. The general court assembles quarterly. Its powers were once equal to those now held by the court of directors, but at present they are limited to the following:—

1. The election of twelve persons out of the eighteen who constitute the court of directors.
2. Of making bye-laws.
3. Of making money grants, and of controlling those proposed by the directors if exceeding £600 in one sum to one person, or £200 per annum.
4. Of calling for the production of all despatches which are not in the custody of the secret committee.

The East India-house is situated in Leadenhall Street, in the city of London, a building inferior in architectural pretension, and calculated by its long and gloomy corridors to give a mean idea of a place eminent in its associations, and as the seat of a power which has decided the destinies of so many oriental nations, and bid defiance to the greatest states of Europe. The company's establishment in the East India-house consists of four departments: the secretary's, the examiner's, the military, and the statistical. These are maintained at what must appear to be a very small cost compared with the vast amount of duties performed, and efficient agencies employed. The sum thus expended, exclusive of charities, pensioners, and annuities, in connection with them, does not exceed £120,000 per annum.

The Board of Control has its office in Cannon Row: its constitution has been already shown. None of the officers of the board ever attend except "the president," who presides over nothing, the real purport of his appointment being to secure to the party holding the reins of government for the time being a portion of the rich patronage connected with India. One of the members of the board is expected to sign papers along with "the president." The real work belongs to the directors of the East India Company, and the effective hindrance to their measures has been in "the president" or in the governor-general of India, appointed for the most part for the purpose of gratifying a titled and powerful partizan of the existing cabinet. Any business done at the board is performed by the secretaries, one of whom is necessarily a member of parliament, and loses his office with the retirement from power of the cabinet which confers his appointment. The other is a permanent government official, who does whatever real work may have to be performed, which chiefly consists in routine records and letters. Each secretary, however, professes to attend to three departments of the control, and each has a staff of clerks at his disposal. The president conducts the "secret" business in person or by letter with the secret committee of the board of directors. The cost of the inefficient Board of Control has been at least one fourth that of the conduct of the vast transactions at the India-house. The system of check and counter-check in the business transacted between the two boards is most complicated, and the general mode of conducting business is rendered, by the spirit of routine pervading the Board of Control, tedious and injurious to the public service.

GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

The synopsis already given of the different statutes contained in Pitt's bill, or since, in acts of George III., William IV., and Victoria, based upon it, have already made the reader acquainted with the principles of local government in India. In 16 & 17 Victoria cap. 95, sec. 22, the governor-general was empowered to add two additional members of council to the four already composing that council, according to the statute, but the right has never been exercised. The patronage of the governor-general of India is exceedingly extensive, important, and valuable. He appoints the lieutenant-governor of Bengal and of the north-western provinces; all the military nominations in Bengal and the north-western provinces; the judges of the "sudder" courts; the commissioners in the non-regulation provinces; and the political residents in native states. The official staff of the governor-general consists of a political secretary to conduct business with native and foreign states; a home secretary, who manages judicial and revenue affairs; a financial secretary for the conduct of government finance; and a military secretary. The secretaries for politics and finance constitute a secret committee, to which all despatches are transmitted, and in whose custody all despatches remain of a secret nature. The council meets at the government-house at Calcutta at least once a week. The governor and council send a quarterly general letter to the court of directors in London, but when important business requires, special letters are transmitted. Correspondence between the presidential governments and the court of directors is to be forwarded to the governor-general in council, but not *in extenso*—abstracts only are necessary. No new office can be established without the permission of the court of directors in London. Military expenditure can only be incurred in case of emergency, without the consent of the committee of the India-house. The governor-general, if not recalled, holds office for five years, and receives £25,000 per annum. Each member of the council receives £10,000 per annum. The presidencies of Madras and Bombay are each under governors and councils of three members. These derive their authority from the court of directors; but the lieutenant-governors of Bengal and of the north-west provinces, derive theirs from the governor-general of India. This may be seen in previous pages, but is here stated to keep before the reader a clear and general view of Indian government.

The provisions shown in the acts of parliament referred to for the government of the presidencies prohibit their governors and councils appointing any officers. This law was found impracticable. Reference could not be made from Madras and Bombay for every appointment to offices of customs or excise, and various other services of necessity arising from time to time. It became necessary to make an arrangement in India which would practically relax the stringency of the law. Periodical returns are made to Calcutta from Madras and Bombay of all appointments made in the interim, and these receive formal sanction at government-house. The governors and councils of the presidencies usually meet weekly, and have secretaries corresponding to those of the general government at Calcutta. The mode of transacting business at the chief seat of authority is more uniform than at Bombay or Madras. The lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces exercises a patronage similar to that of the governors and councils in Bombay and Madras. If a servant is suspended or dismissed by the presidential governments, such dismission is subject to appeal to the directors. A certain amount of military patronage in India is also divided between the governor and the commander-in-chief. The former appoints to such offices as are connected with finance and have civil relations—such as the military auditor-general, the military accountant, the paymasters and commissaries; the commander-in-chief appoints the adjutant-general, the quarter-master-general, and minor officers of a strictly military nature. The presidential governors and commanders-in-chief exercise their patronage respectively and relatively upon the model of that of the governor-general and general commanding-in-chief.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The collection of the revenue, and the administration of justice, are committed to the civil servants. Sometimes judicial and fiscal functions are united in the duties of the same official. The covenant made by the civil servants has been given in a former page; also the class from which the covenanted servants are selected. These civil servants—who may be either European or native, who have undergone no previous training, and who form no covenant with the company, but are employed as ordinary officials are usually employed by all public bodies—are called "uncovenanted servants." Public competition determines who shall be in the company's covenanted service since the act* passed for the dissolution of the company's civil college at Haileybury. The examiners of candidates for the covenanted department of the civil service are appointed by the Board of Control, under the act 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95. In 1855 regulations were promulgated by the board to the effect that two examinations of candidates should take place. The first in ancient and modern languages, mathematics, Arabic, and Sanscrit; the second in law, Indian history, and political economy. An interval of a year to take place between the two examinations. Various causes have contributed to prevent the operations of these regulations so far as the second examination is concerned. The following regulations are issued by the board:—

REGULATIONS FOR THE EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE.

1. Any natural-born subject of her majesty who shall be desirous of entering the civil service of the company, will be entitled to be examined at such examination, provided he shall, on or before the 1st of May, 1855, have transmitted to the board of commissioners:—

(*a*) A certificate of his age being above eighteen years and under twenty-three years.

(*b*) A certificate, signed by a physician or surgeon, of his having no disease, constitutional affection, or bodily infirmity, unfitting him for the civil service of the company.

(*c*) A certificate of good moral character, signed by the head of the school or college at which he has last received his education; or, if he has not received

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18 & 19 Victoria, cap. 53.

education at any school or college since the year 1852, then such proof of good moral character as may be satisfactory to the board of commissioners.

(d) A statement of those branches of knowledge hereinafter enumerated, in which he desires to be examined.

2. The examination will take place in the following branches of knowledge:—

	MARKS.
English Language and Literature:—	
Composition	500
English Literature and History, including that of the Laws and Constitution	1000
	1500
Language, Literature, and History of Greece .	750
" " " Rome .	750
" " " France .	375
" " " Germany	375
" " " Italy . .	375
Mathematics, pure and mixed	1000
Natural Science, that is, Chemistry, Electricity, and Magnetism, Natural History, Geology, and Mineralogy	500
Moral Sciences, that is, Logic, Mental, Moral, and Political Philosophy	500
Sanscrit Language and Literature	375
Arabic Language and Literature	375
	6875

3. The merit of the persons examined will be estimated by marks, according to the ordinary system in use at several of the universities, and the numbers set opposite to each branch in the preceding paragraph denote the greatest number of marks that can be obtained in respect of it.

4. No candidate will be allowed any marks in respect of any subject of examination unless he shall, in the opinion of the examiners, possess a competent knowledge of that subject.

5. The examination will be conducted by means of printed questions and written answers, and by *vivâ voce* examination, as the examiners may deem necessary.

6. After the examination shall have been completed, the examiners shall add up the marks obtained by each candidate in respect of each of the subjects in which he shall have been examined, and shall set forth, in order of merit, the names of the twenty candidates who shall have obtained a greater number of marks than any of the remaining candidates; and such twenty candidates shall be deemed to be selected candidates for the civil service of the East India Company. Their choice of the presidency in India to which they shall be appointed shall be determined by the order in which they stand on such list.

7. In August, 1856, and August, 1857, further examinations of the selected candidates will take place by examiners appointed by the board of commissioners for the affairs of India in the following subjects:—

	MARKS.
Law, including the ordinary rules of taking Evidence, and the Mode of conducting civil and criminal trials	1000
The History of India	400
Political Economy	400
Any Language of India in which the selected candidate shall have given notice of his desire to be examined	200

And such further examinations will be conducted in the same manner as that above described. (The numbers set opposite to each subject denote the greatest number of marks which can be obtained in respect of such subjects.)

8. Each selected candidate, desirous of being examined at either of the further examinations of 1856 and 1857, shall, two months previously to such examination, transmit to the board of commissioners for the affairs of India a statement mentioning the language or languages of India in which he is desirous of being examined.

9. Any selected candidate who, having been examined at the further examination of 1856, shall not have passed, may, nevertheless, be again examined at the further examination of 1857.

10. Any selected candidate who shall not have passed at one or the other of the further examinations of 1856 and 1857, shall be struck off the list of selected candidates.

11. The selected candidates, who, at either of such further examinations shall be deemed by the examiners to have a competent knowledge of law, the history of India, political economy, and at least one language of India, shall be adjudged to have passed, and to be entitled to be appointed to the civil service of the East India Company; and the names of the selected candidates who shall have so passed shall be placed in a list in the order of their merit in such examinations, estimated as above by the total number of marks which they shall have obtained in respect of all the subjects in which they shall have been examined at such examination.

12. The seniority in the civil service of the East India Company of the selected candidates, shall be determined by the date of the further examination at which they shall be judged to have passed; and so between those who have passed at the same further examination, their security in such civil service shall be determined according to the order in which they stand on the list, resulting from such examinations.

13. No person will ever after such examinations be allowed to proceed to India until he shall comply with the regulations in force at the time for the civil service of the East India Company, and shall be of sound bodily health, and good moral character.

INDIA BOARD,
26th January, 1855.

When the single examination (now made to suffice, contrary to the promulgated regulations) has taken place, the young men are sent out, as fast as they are required, to the respective governments for which it is presumed they are best adapted, or which is in the greatest need of their services. Those intended for Bengal, the north-west provinces, and other districts under the general government, are sent to Calcutta, where they are subjected to a further course of study, after which an examination takes place as to their progress in the native languages. The college at Fort William is the place where these additional preparations for official life are made. At Bombay and Madras there are no colleges for preparing the civil servants in the native languages. There are, however, certain teachers appointed for the purpose. Every successful candidate is entitled to some office, although not immediately nominated. After they arrive in India, and while pursuing the preparatory studies which are conducted there, the candidates receive a certain stipend, called "out-of-employ allowance," amounting to £400 a-year. When the examinations have terminated at Calcutta, the candidates are nominated as assistants to magistrates and collectors, and are sent into "the Mofussil." * Before the assistants can enter the regular grades of the service, they must submit to two examinations: the first in the vernacular languages, or chiefly in those; the second in criminal and fiscal law, superadded to which is another examination in the vernacular tongues. When recognised as having entered the regular service, the civil officer is engaged in fiscal and magisterial duties, in a subordinate manner, and in such cases as superior officers may prescribe.

The regulations of the company's college at Calcutta have been unsparingly censured by various writers—such as Capper, in his work entitled *The Three Presidencies of India*, and Campbell, in his *Modern British India*. According to these and other authors who have written with less impartiality than zeal against the government of India, the students spend several years of idleness at Calcutta, spending at a rate far beyond their incomes, and burdening themselves for many subsequent years with the payment of heavy instalments of their debts. It is alleged that these young men bear themselves haughtily to their superiors, relying on their interest at home to uphold their position. The amount of testimony against the proficiency of the young men at Calcutta, and indeed at Bombay and Madras, is too extensive and respectable to be overlooked. It is alleged, on the other hand, that men of great attainments themselves, expect too much from these young men, and that while stricter regulations and examinations ought to ensure proficiency before the student receives the office of "writer," yet, on the whole, the attainments made are respectable, and the general career of those who serve the company is creditable.

After several years, during which every facility is afforded to the civilian to become experienced in office, and well acquainted with the people, he is recognised as a candidate for promotion. A fresh examination must be passed in the languages and institutions of the country. If this issue in a satisfactory manner, he is qualified for the offices of magistrate or collector.

The magistrates attend to police and the cognizance of whatever relates to criminals. Appeals from their decisions may be made to the judges of sessions. The collector takes charge of the district treasury, and collects the revenue, having large powers for enforcing his legal demands. Certain magisterial and judicial powers are entrusted to the collector; he settles by summary process disputes about rent and landed property among the agricultural community. The different presidencies have different rules of procedure, as well as different regulations of official rank and functions. In Bengal the office of judge, magistrate, and collector, are held by three distinct persons. In the north-west provinces, Bombay, and Madras, officers of one class are both magistrates and collectors; those of another class are judges. In the non-regulation provinces civil officers of one class hold all three offices.

Promotion goes generally by seniority; but when the secretary reports that a vacant office requires peculiar fitness in the occupant, he also names those among the legal claimants whom he considers in possession of the qualifications, and the governor usually selects that person, but may of his own knowledge fix upon some one else more adapted in his opinion to the post. This plan is calculated to ensure the promotion of talent, but it also opens up the way to interest and favouritism. Selection, in contradistinction to seniority, does not often prevail, except in the very highest offices.

Lord Cornwallis introduced a practice which is radically at variance with the constitution of the civil service, but which has prevailed ever since the governor-generalship of that nobleman. This practice is the employment of military men in civil offices. They are especially selected for their real or ostensible adaptation to the discharge of particular duties. They are chiefly employed as political agents in foreign courts, or the administration of police and magisterial affairs in unsettled districts. When civil servants properly qualified could not be obtained, military men have been appointed to the ordinary civil offices even in the regulation provinces. The proportion of military to civil officers employed in diplomatic situations is as one to two; but taking all classes of situations and all parts of our Indian empire into account, the proportion of military to civilians is probably three to two. This fashion of employing military men in civil offices has been of great detriment to the military service, although probably of no disadvantage generally, and of great advantage in many cases to the civil administration. It is not improbable that the mutiny of 1857 would not have been attempted had not this predominating influence of the military over the civilians grown to such a head in the civil department. The regiments were denuded of experienced and efficient officers. The "pick and cull" of the army was withdrawn for civil services. Knowledge of the native languages constituting one of the chief qualifications for the office of a civilian. officers thus endowed were withdrawn from their regiments, leaving those behind them least qualified to communicate with the men. Besides, the number of officers generally in regiments was extremely deficient from this cause. The covenanted civil officers receive salaries varying from £40 per month to more than twenty times that amount, paid in rupees.

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* The country as distinct from the capital.

The duties of a collector are very numerous, and the sphere of his supervision very extensive. An area equal to two average English counties may be considered the ordinary "beat" of a collector. Over this during many months of the year he passes on his duties, in which he superintends the work performed by his assistants, the uncovenanted servants. Business in the early part of the day is often very severe upon the collector, as the crafty natives then press upon him with their claims, complaints, and references, in the hope that he will be more placable just as he begins his day than when his wearied mind and body have passed through the greater portion of his diurnal toil. The salary of a collector is about £233 per month.

At the end of ten years the civilian is entitled to a three years' furlough; but if he makes this available, he will, on his return, find his post filled, and he must await his turn to procure another. During his absence in Europe he is allowed £500 a year. He may obtain leave to Ceylon, the Cape, Australia, the Mauritius, and some other places, and retain one-third of his pay, and without resigning his appointment. At the end of twenty-two years' service he may retire upon £1000 a year, having subscribed four per cent. upon his income in the meantime to the annuity fund, and a further small per-centage to the widow and orphan fund.

By very many writers the average ability of the collector and magistrates is represented as below mediocrity; and that although men of great ability have been numbered among them, yet the vast majority lose in their isolated positions that stimulus for the acquisition of knowledge which competition in the crowd of European life supplies. It is alleged that the zeal at first shown to master the details of their own duties gradually passes away, and the collector does little, leaving to his subordinates all real labour, until he becomes unacquainted with the state of his district, and imperfectly versed in the application of the principles of administration. There can, however, be no doubt that within the last few years a more general tone of efficiency has sprung up, and that in the north-west, and throughout the non-regulation provinces, a vigorous administration has been carried out.

The uncovenanted civil servants are composed of both Europeans and natives. The Europeans are chiefly selected from those who have gone out to India in some other calling, and the sons of commissioned officers. They do not generally attain to the higher offices, and are not entitled to the furlough after ten years' service; but sometimes high interest, or peculiar qualifications, lead to their advancement, and furloughs have been granted as an especial mark of favour. They are not, according to the rule, entitled to pensions, but have sometimes received them. There are many half-caste men among the uncovenanted servants. These, with the Europeans employed, according to Capper, amounted, in 1853, to nearly three thousand persons.

Lord William Bentinck conceived the idea of employing the natives as uncovenanted servants; and his lordship contemplated it on a scale of magnitude and liberality that would have introduced great numbers of this class to the offices for which they might be deemed eligible. So far as his scheme has been carried out, it has promoted the convenience of magistrates and collectors, but has not conduced to the better government of India, the better administration of local affairs, the impartial administration of justice, or the welfare of the people. Abuses, which have furnished a theme for agitation against the company, have grown up under this system. The native is ever ready to wrong the native. He will do so to please his employer, to exact a bribe, to gratify his personal animosity, or to show his distaste to a rival religion or race. The hardships inflicted by native agents of all classes everywhere in India, but more especially in Madras, are numerous, often appalling, and generally beyond the correction or prevention of the European officers. The system of torture practised in Madras by these native officers has brought much opprobrium on the government, which never countenanced the crime, and did its best to prevent it. Frequently where the European officer supposed the evil suppressed it was still continued. The native officers will lie, commit perjury, cheat, accept bribes, inflict the grossest injustice, and the most brutal cruelties, in the name of the company. The scheme of Lord William Bentinck, however, met the approbation of the government and parliament at home, and their sanction was given to it by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 85. The result of this statute has been that nearly all the inferior offices of justice are in the hands of the natives. There are seven hundred native judges in India.* The decisions of many of these inflict great injury upon the cause of justice and discredit upon the company. The collectors in several departments of the revenue are frequently natives, numbering altogether twelve hundred persons.†

It may surprise most readers of this History to learn that the most useful class of native *employés* is that of medical assistants. The sub-assistant surgeon of districts, and the "native doctor" in regiments, are very useful persons, showing a practical aptitude for detecting diseases, which experience supplies where scientific diagnosis is not possible. As *helpers* to the British medical officers they are invaluable; but the directors claim for them a higher position, as appears from the following statement of the court, laid before parliament:—"In addition to the institutions for giving a general education to the different classes of the community, either through English or the vernacular, colleges or schools for several branches of professional education are maintained at the different presidencies (of the engineering colleges mention has already been made). Medical schools had from an early period been maintained at all the presidencies, to train persons for employment in the subordinate branches of the medical service—as compounders, dressers, native doctors, &c. These institutions were gradually raised in character, and for many years past have held the rank of colleges, in which medical education of a first-class character is afforded. They have, in consequence, received the 'recognition' of the College of Surgeons in London; and the graduates of these colleges are entitled to all privileges which are conferred by the College of Surgeons on the members of the colonial medical institutions recognized by them. The graduates almost invariably enter the service of government, though some few, especially at Bombay, prefer private practice. To afford encouragement to the graduates of the colleges, and meet the want of well-qualified medical officers for the service of government, a special native medical service has been created, under the title of sub-assistant surgeons, for which a degree in one of the medical colleges of India is a necessary qualification. These officers are divided into three grades, promotion being regulated by the joint consideration of length of service and professional qualification, as ascertained by special examination. The principal use which has been made of this class has been in connection with the government dispensaries; but some few have been appointed to the charge of the smaller stations. Their professional qualifications are, in many cases, of a high order; and the triumph which has been effected over the religious prejudices of the natives, in popularizing the dissection of dead bodies, is a proof that this indirect mode of correcting their superstitions, by the influence of useful knowledge, is a highly effectual one."

In humble offices—such as police agents and inferior servants of revenue—the number of natives is very great. Forty thousand, according to Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P., were thus employed in Bengal alone in 1853, their average pay being the small sum of twenty rupees per month, which, however, is, in the esteem of a native, a considerable amount. According to the same authority, there were a hundred and seventy thousand watchmen in the lower provinces.

The salaries paid to the better classes of the uncovenanted servants range from £100 per annum up to £900. A native who lately presided in the "small-cause court" in Calcutta received £1560 per annum.* The Mohammedans are most patronised by the Indian authorities, but Hindoos also, in an inferior degree, hold important posts. A Parsee presides over the factory at Bombay, and has Europeans serving under him.† It is surprising that the Parsees are not more frequently employed; they are the most upright among the natives, have most real respect for Europeans, united with more dignity, probity, independence, loyalty, and intelligence.

It is alleged that there are now in Calcutta many natives who have risen from the meanest officers of police by money-lending, the money having been obtained by peculation and bribery, and that these persons not unfrequently have their former masters as their debtors. Extortion and oppression prevail everywhere, through the instrumentality of the native *employés*, in spite of the company and its European officers, who are gradually becoming simply the supervisors of the native officials, upon whom devolve all the labour, and who are almost solely brought into close contact with the native population.

The constitution and history of the government of India were well described by an eminent statesman as "a great empire carrying on subordinately a great commerce—a state in the disguise of a merchant."‡

While these sheets are going through the press the country is agitated by a discussion of the question—"How shall India in future be governed?" The commons of England has affirmed the extinction of the East India

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* Mills.

† Ibid.

* Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P.

† Ibid.

‡ Edmund Burke.

Company, but has not yet agreed upon any other form of government as a substitute. Lord Palmerston, as head of the government dissolved in the beginning of this year, brought forward a measure which received a large support, and provoked an extensive opposition, especially beyond the walls of parliament. The government of the Earl of Derby, which succeeded that of Lord Palmerston, brought forward another measure, more complicated, but more popular, or, at least, more specious in a popular sense. These two measures are still before the legislature and the country, and the issue of the discussion must be reserved for another chapter.

It is impossible not to concur with a statement made by Mr. Mangles in the house, that the company have rendered great services to the country, and, on the whole, governed India well. Nor is it possible to refuse concurrence to the statement of Colonel Sykes, also made from his place in the legislature, that the company have maintained in India a better government than that of any continental power in Europe. The language of Henry Thoby Prinsep, Esq., one of the ablest of the present directors, is just:—"We have kept the country, and governed it for a hundred years, with honour to England, and benefit to India." Such facts ought not, and must not, be lost sight of in any new arrangements, nor in the estimate which the country forms of the character and history of the East India Company. The improvements demanded for India by this country have in some instances been anticipated by the directors or the local government of India, and in other cases responded to by a prompt adoption of what general opinion declared necessary. In some instances the company have yielded to the public voice what, if better instructed on Indian affairs, the people of England would not have desired. Difficulties in India, arising from concessions upon which the will of England was strongly set, but which, in themselves, were unwise or inopportune, and in some cases unjust, have undoubtedly arisen. Within the last few years great strides in the direction of improvement have been made. The settlement of the Punjaub has assumed a most satisfactory issue. Scinde presents an aspect of good government, pleasing as it is instructive. As shown on a former page, the native tribes along the whole line of the Affghan and Beloochee frontiers of the Punjaub and Scinde have been tamed down by the justice, wisdom, firmness, and administrative aptitude, happily blended in the policy and mental qualities of the men to whom the directors wisely committed the task. In the hill countries of Central India, along the ranges of ghauts, and in those wild jungles or desert districts on the frontiers of independent states, lawless hordes have been trained to industry, and hands which had been expert only in wielding the weapons of hostility, have already become skilful in the use of the implements of peace. It would be no exaggeration, and scarcely a figure of speech, to say that the spear has been turned into the pruning-hook, and the sword converted to the ploughshare. That such results have not been everywhere accomplished is not more true than that everywhere some progress is made towards their realization. The great mutiny has not at all obstructed this process over a large area of country, and it will ultimately even open up facilities for the speedier achievement of civilization, by the new instrumentalities which it will certainly call into life, and the more vivid impression of the prestige of British power which victory will create. "The general result of all these improvements in administration, combined with the security which our rule has for the first time given to property against the ravages of war and fiscal rapacity, has been a great and rapid growth of general prosperity."* Whatever be the issue of the discussion now penetrating the country, it is certain, that in any scheme for the future, "an intermediate, non-political, and perfectly independent body, in concurrence with her majesty's government, is an indispensable necessity, without which there can be no absolute security for good government."†

No circumstance in the history of the company has perhaps given so much offence to the English people as the alleged disposition to discourage native Christians, and debar them from office. During the recent parliamentary and public discussions on this subject papers were moved for in the commons in reference to a Hindoo convert to Christianity in a native regiment at Meerut, an event which occurred a considerable number of years ago. The correspondence discloses the spirit of the government at that time, and which has too much characterised it since. A Major Boye, who commanded the battalion in which the occurrence of the conversion took place, made a formal complaint that the clergyman baptised the convert *without his* (the major's) *consent!* The man was removed from the regiment *by order of the governor in council*, the event having filled the council with "consternation." The whole tone of the correspondence, with many other incidents, show that no efforts were made to accustom the soldiery to the idea that they had a right to become what they pleased as to religious profession, without fear of molestation or disfavour; there was no effort made to lead the men to regard it *as a right*, that they ought jealously to claim.

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* *Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India.*

† *Address of the Court of Directors to Lord Palmerston.*

Another of the most fertile causes of dissatisfaction with the company in England has been the prohibition of Europeans from holding land on any account whatever. It is not here necessary to review this fact as a feature of policy. The company was undoubtedly jealous of the energy, enterprise, and independence which English settlers would display, and the intrusion into the government of India which a considerable British population, having a permanent interest in the country, would be sure to make. At the same time it was the belief of "the old Indians," that the settlement of foreigners would arouse the prejudices and nationality of the natives, and provoke insurrection. It is passing strange that if the natives have learned submission to Europeans as conquerors, bowing to their authority, and surrendering revenues from the land, that the people would be less willing to offer homage when the European element in the country was strengthened. The company discouraged the colonization of India, from the belief that it was impracticable, the characteristics of the climate being unfavourable. A few elevated situations would furnish opportunities for English culture, but, except as planters of indigo, sugar, and rice, by the sole instrumentality of native labour, the settlement of Europeans as agriculturists is generally impossible. Even in the hill districts "the hill fever," and other diseases, would sweep away Europeans who ventured to locate themselves.

This chapter cannot be more appropriately closed than by a list of the governors-general of India, and of the presidents of the Board of Control, brought down to the present time. These lists will be useful for reference in other portions of the History. The following are the names of those who have held office as governors-general and administrators of India, with the dates of their appointment: those prior to the act of 1773 having been styled "administrators;" those between 1773 and the act of 1833, "governors-general of Fort William;" those from 1833 to the present time, "governors-general of India in council."

Alexander Dawson, January 27, 1748.
William Fytche, January 8, 1752.
Roger Drake, August 8, 1752.
Colonel Robert Clive, March 25, 1758.
Henry Vansittart, November 23, 1759.
John Spencer, November 26, 1764.
Lord Clive (second time), June 1, 1764.
Harry Verelst, January 26, 1767.
John Cartier, December 16, 1769.
Warren Hastings, April 25, 1771.
John Macpherson (provisionally), February 1, 1785.
Lord Macartney, July, 1785 (declined office).
Lord Cornwallis, February 24, 1786.
Major-general W. Meadows, April 28, 1790.
Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), September 19, 1792.
Sir Alured Clarke (provisionally), September 20, 1797.
Lord Mornington (Marquis of Wellesley), October 4, 1797.
Marquis Cornwallis (second time), January 9, 1805. Died October 6.
Sir George H. Barlow (appointment revoked by his majesty), February 19, 1806.
Lord Minto, July 9, 1806.
Earl of Moira (Marquis of Hastings), November 18, 1812.
George Canning, March 27, 1822 (declined office).
William, Lord Amherst, October 23, 1822.
W. B. Bayley (provisionally), March 23, 1828.
Lord William Bentinck, March 13, 1828.
William, Lord Heytesbury (appointment revoked by his majesty), January 28, 1835.
Sir Charles Metcalfe (provisionally), March 20, 1835.
George, Lord Auckland, August 12, 1836.
Edward, Lord Ellenborough (revoked by court of directors, May 1, 1844), October 20, 1841.
W. W. Bird (provisionally), 1844.
Sir Henry Hardinge (Viscount Hardinge), May 6, 1844.
James Andrew, Marquis of Dalhousie, August 4, 1847.
Charles John, Viscount Canning, July, 1855.

The following are the names of those who have held the office of president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India since its constitution in 1784:—

Thomas, Lord Sydney, September 3, 1784.
Right Hon. W. Wyndham Grenville, March 12, 1790.
Right Hon. Henry Dundas, June 28, 1793.
George, Viscount Lewisham, May 19, 1801.
Robert, Viscount Castlereagh, July 12, 1802.
Gilbert, Lord Minto, February 12, 1806.
Right Hon. Thomas Grenville, July 16, 1806.
Right Hon. George Tierney, October 1, 1806.
Right Hon. Robert Dundas, April 6, 1807.
Dudley, Earl of Harrowby, July 16, 1807.
Right Hon. Robert Dundas (second time), November 13, 1809.
Robert, Earl of Buckinghamshire, April 7, 1812.
Right Hon. George Canning, June 20, 1816.
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst, July 16, 1821.
Right Hon. C. Watkin Williams Wynn, July 8, 1822.
Robert Dundas, Viscount Melville, February 7, 1828.
Edward, Lord Ellenborough, April 24, 1828.
Right Hon. Charles Grant, December 6, 1830.
Edward, Lord Ellenborough (second time), December 20, 1834.
Right Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart., April 29, 1835.
Edward, Lord Ellenborough (third time), April 9, 1841.
W. F. Fitzgerald, Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci, October 28, 1841.
Frederic J., Earl of Ripon, May 23, 1843.
Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Lord Broughton (second time), July 10, 1846.
Right Hon. Fox Maule, February 5, 1852.
Right Hon. J. C. Herries, February 27, 1852.
Right Hon. Sir Charles Wood, Bart., December 28, 1852.
Right Hon. R. Vernon Smith, 1855.
Edward, Lord Ellenborough (fourth time), February, 1858.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE (*Continued*).

REVENUE.

One of the most important subjects connected with government must of course be revenue; it is not only "the sinews of war," but the sinews of peace. The mode in which the revenue of a government is obtained is a test of its civilization.

The principles of taxation adopted in India are of Hindoo origin, although most writers attribute them to the Mohammedan conquerors. They systematized, but nearly all their schemes were based on the ancient customs which they found in existence. Various modifications have been introduced by the British, as circumstances arose to require them, and the result is the existing systems of the Honourable East India Company.

The taxation of the people of British India is computed at about five shillings per head, while in the British Isles more than ten times that amount is paid. In India about seventy per cent. of the entire taxation falls upon the agricultural portion of the community.

There are three chief boards of revenue—those of Bengal, the north-western provinces, and Madras. In Bombay there is a revenue commission. The country is divided into revenue divisions, which are under the charge of officers, whose chief, and sometimes exclusive, functions, are the collection and regulation of the revenue.

The revenue year ends on the 30th of April, and therefore the amount received in 1857-8 is not yet reported in detail. For 1856-7 it was as follows:—

Land revenue	£16,682,908
Opium	4,487,269
Salt	2,362,308
Customs	2,029,270
All other sources of revenue, comprising stamps, post-office, sayer, abkaree, mint, marine, pilotage, judicial electric telegraph receipts, subsidies from native states, and miscellaneous	3,605,702
Total	£29,167,457

When the vast area of territory, and the great resources of the country, are considered, this sum is beneath what ought to be derived, without hardship to the population, if the scheme adopted was in harmony with economical science.

A comparative view of the revenue of the past fiscal year with that of 1852-3 will throw additional light on the subject.

Source of revenue.	Gross revenue.	Net revenue.	Cost of collecting per cent.	Per-centage on total revenue.
	£	£		
Land revenue	15,178,676	13,551,752	10½	58½
Excise and moturpha .	1,088,254			
Opium	4,562,586	3,358,684	26½	14½
Salt	3,189,214	2,703,752	15	11¾
Customs	946,561	816,074	13½	3¼
Stamps, fees, and fines.	593,982	590,169	4	2½
Tobacco	115,000	88,448	23	⅛
Post-office, mint, and other sources	1,979,041*	1,979,041	†	8⅔
Total	27,753,314	23,067,920		

The three principal sources of finance upon which the government draws are land, opium, and salt. Land is the greatest of all, and shall therefore receive notice first.

Before giving a general view of the system of land revenue, it is necessary to explain the meaning of some terms.

The word *zemindar* is Persian, and means "landholder." It was originally given to the Hindoo chiefs, who held hereditary possession. The Moguls applied the name to officers appointed to collect revenue, and to receive for themselves a certain per-centage. When land in British India is said to be held under the *zemindar system*, it is intended to be understood that tenants cultivate it under a landlord who stands between them and the government. The landlord may be a hereditary chief, or a village corporation, or a district officer, but he is a middleman between the people and the government.

The *ryot system* expresses the fact that the cultivator is the proprietor; he is immediately the tenant of the government.

The middlemen of India are found under various designations—*polygars* and *mootadars* of Madras; the *dessayes* and *mozumdars* of Gujerat; the *deshmooks* of the Deccan and Bombay; the *talookdars* of the Moguls, &c.

Proprietors and headmen are variously called—*zemindars* in Bengal and the north-western provinces; *bhumyas* in Rajpootana; *potails* in Malwa, Gujerat, and the Deccan; *merrassidars* in the Carnatic; *vellalers* in the southern peninsula; and *patteedars* in the Punjaub.

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* Of this sum £566,694 are receipts from native states towards the support of British troops for their protection.

† Cost of collection charged against general revenues, and said to be equal to the gross amount collected; actual net revenue from these would therefore be *nil*.

The security and contentment of the people of India mainly depend upon the administration of justice and the regulation of the revenue. "The manner in which the entire economical condition of nearly the whole population is determined by the management of the revenue department cannot, by persons unacquainted with India, be understood without especial explanation."* Throughout the greater part of India there is no intermediate landlord between the cultivator and the government. The rent is not paid to a landlord who has no claim upon the taxes. The rent and taxes are identical, or at all events the assessment of the one regulates the other, the government being the possessor of the estate in its fee simple. "The history of the revenue administration of India is the history of landed property, and of the economical condition of the whole agricultural population."† It is computed that on an average of the cultivated lands throughout India a tax of 3s. 6*d.* per acre is levied. This is alleged to be equal to one-fourth of the gross produce.

In 1765, when the Mogul granted Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa to the company, the subject of revenue necessarily arose for consideration. During the first four years of the English possession the native officers previously engaged in collecting the revenue were retained in their offices, and the system previously in existence continued to be worked. The system was then termed *pattendaree*, the zemindars and district registrars contracting for the revenues with the company.

The history of the English revenue since then has been condensed and summed up by Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P., in the following form:—

In 1769 supervisors, being covenanted servants of the company, were appointed in each district to report on the existing revenue system, with a view to its amendment.

In 1772, by proclamation, dated the 11th of May, the company asserted their authority under the Mogul's grant to the *dewannee*, or civil government, and, by regulations dated the 14th of May, a system of lease for five years to the highest bidder was inaugurated.

In 1776 instructions were issued by the directors, authorizing the sale of lands in default of payment on the part of the zemindars or landholders with whom the government contracts were made.

In 1781 regulations were framed and passed by the governor in council, establishing a plan of annual leases; preference to be given in all cases to the zemindars.

In 1789, by a minute of the governor-general (Lord Cornwallis), a settlement, involving a fixed payment of revenue for ten years, was announced.

In 1793, by proclamation, dated the 22nd of March, the decennial settlement was declared to be permanent and irrevocable for ever, and regulations were framed for carrying it out.

In 1799 an act was passed relaxing the stringent power of sale given theretofore to the government over the estates of defaulting zemindars.

In 1802 the permanent revenue system of Bengal was extended to a portion of the Madras presidency, in which, under the auspices of Munro, a system had been established of direct dealing with individual cultivators, on yearly agreements, with allowances for irrigation or other improvements, and providing also for the liability of villages for individual defaults.

In 1803—5 the district called the Barahmal, in Madras, was mapped out into zemindarries, and disposed of on fixed permanent terms.* After many changes and modifications of system, we find—

In 1817 three different systems existing in different parts of Madras:—1. The Cornwallis, or zemindarry system; 2. The ryotwar, or Munro system, above described; and 3. The village system of leases for years of all the lands comprised in the village, together with all the profits; the liability for rent, and the duty of internal management, being committed to the leaseholders collectively.†

In 1820 the ryotwar system was made general through all parts of the Madras presidency not already permanently assessed.

In 1821 a commission was appointed to investigate and report upon alleged abuses in the revenue system of the north-west provinces, and in 1822, by Regulation VII., a system, of which Mr. Holt Mackenzie was the author, was promulgated, the leading object of which was to combine the advantages of the ryotwar system with that of village leases.

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* *Memorial of the Honourable East India Company.*

† Ibid.

* A full account of the land revenue system, as it existed in 1812, will be found in the fifth report of the House of Commons of that year.

† The first of these systems, the zemindarry, prevailed in Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Guntore, Salem, Chingleput, Cuddalore, and the Pollams.

The second, or ryotwar—in Malabar, Canara, Coimbatore, Madura, and Dindigul.

The third, or village system—in the ceded districts, Nellore, Arcot, Palnaud, Trichinopoly, Tinnevelly, and Tanjore.

In 1827, by the Bombay code of regulations, the work of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, a system was established, which, with subsequent modifications, still exists.

In 1833, by Regulation IX. (under Lord William Bentinck), the settlement of the north-west provinces was further carried out, and in 1842 it was completed. In the working of this system native functionaries were largely employed. In the north-west provinces, Madras, and Bombay, the offices of collector and magistrate were at this time united in the same person. In Bengal they were kept distinct.

In 1844 Scinde (in which territory a plan of collecting land revenue under military superintendence had been attempted by Sir Charles Napier) was annexed to Bombay, and partly subjected to the same system with that presidency.

In 1847 a system of thirty years' leases of "fields" (the name given to so much land as one man and a pair of bullocks could cultivate) was established in part of the Bombay presidency—the boundaries of the fields to be marked by stones—portions of the territory being also annually let for grazing grounds. Under this system the dealings of the government were (on the ryotwar plan) with the individual cultivators. The fields were to be sold in default of payment.

In 1849 the Punjaub system of decennial contracts with the village communities was established, at the suggestion of the Lawrences, by Lord Dalhousie.

A paper, "showing under what tenures, and subject to what land-tax, lands are held in the several presidencies of India," was lately returned to parliament. "Returns," illustrating the surveys and assessments in the north-west provinces, Bombay, and Madras, have also been laid before the legislature, and disclose the following condition of revenue affairs.

Land Revenue System in Bengal.—The land is held by zemindars, who pay an annual fixed sum in perpetuity, the estates being liable to be sold on default of payment. The land-tax is supposed to be half the rental. Between the landlords or zemindars, and the cultivators, there are nearly always middlemen, and sometimes several renters between them. This system was instituted by the Marquis Cornwallis, in 1793, with the object of creating a native landed aristocracy: the project was unfortunately approved of in England, so as to blind men to the necessary results of such a scheme. It has issued most mischievously, both for the government and the people. It is known by the designation of "the permanent settlement." The representations made of this scheme by persons competent to judge of its operations give a picture of oppression and injustice truly terrible. In order to carry out his plan of creating a native aristocracy, it was necessary for Lord Cornwallis to sweep away the rights of the ryots. Multitudes, who from time immemorial had an inheritance in the land, were suddenly dispossessed in favour of Lord Cornwallis's zemindars. These soon made their newly-acquired privileges felt by the victims whom the conceit and ignorance of the governor-general had placed in their power. The ryots were subjected to a series of grinding exactions so utterly merciless, that it is extraordinary how the stereotyped phrases of "the mild and gentle Hindoo" could have ever obtained amongst Europeans, who witnessed the cruel despotism of these avaricious and remorseless tyrants. The cultivators of Bengal are ground down into misery by a horde of merciless native rack-renters, unrighteously created, partly as a better medium of revenue, partly from a weak, vain, and criminal sympathy with aristocratic institutions. "They (the zemindars) take from them (the ryots or cultivators) all they can get; in short, they exact whatever they please. The ryots have no defence whatever but that of removal; they may decline to pay what is exacted, and quit the land."* The "permanent settlement" has produced more distress and beggary, and a greater change in the landed property of Bengal, than has happened in the same space of time in any age or country by the mere effect of internal regulations. Mr. Piddington, a civilian, in his replies to the queries of the board of revenue, says, in reference to these extortions —"I fear to be discredited when I state, that from twenty to forty per cent. on the actual *jummabundi* (legal rent) is yearly extorted from the poor ryot." It has been the custom to launch angry impeachments against the company for this state of things, both in parliament and throughout the country; and whenever any disappointed person returned from India, the relation of the zemindars and ryots was a fruitful theme of discourse in opposition to the committee in Leadenhall Street.

In a defence of their conduct and policy lately put forth by the East India Company, the evil of this system has been frankly acknowledged, the error of Lord Cornwallis described as such, and the company urges that it had no more power to change the relation of the zemindar or landlord of Bengal with the ryot, than the English government has had the power of altering the relation of the owners and occupiers of the soil in those provinces of Ireland where such has been least satisfactory. It cannot be denied, however, that a long period has elapsed since the government of Cornwallis without adequate endeavours to apply a corrective in Bengal. The company takes credit to itself for not having imitated the Cornwallis system in other portions of India, and for having, by its recent surveys and magisterial regulations, done much to prevent litigation, always in India unfavourable to the poor man, and for defining his rights. The tenacity, however, of old impressions which characterises the Hindoos, has kept alive the idea of a right still existing in the actual cultivator to hold his land at a rent fixed by custom, not by arbitrary will; and this traditionary feeling, from which the landlords themselves are not exempt, must form the basis of anything that can be hereafter done to improve the tenure of the Bengal ryot.*

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* Mill; *Fifth Report of the Finance Committee in Bengal.*

SYSTEM OF LAND REVENUE IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.—The mode of assessing land in these provinces is much superior to that pursued in Bengal. The plan adopted by Lord Cornwallis was happily avoided in "the settlement" of the territory within the limits of the lieutenant-governorship, when the wars conducted under the government of the Marquis Wellesley led to the acquirement of these districts. At first the arrangements for land taxes were provisional, and this state of things was allowed to continue many years, the company wishing to gain experience, and being warned against precipitancy by the working of the "permanent settlement" in Bengal. After thirty years, during which the company's officers made themselves acquainted with the capabilities of the country, the settlement of the provinces began, and was completed in 1844. The ancient tenure of those districts was that of "village communities." The descendants of those who originally conquered or reclaimed the land held it as a community. There were inhabitants of "the village" (or district of territory so called), renting plots from those who descended from the ancient possessors; such tenants were generally removable, but sometimes fixity of tenure had been in particular cases granted. The East India Company determined upon recognising the rights of the village communes. In order to ensure certainty as to the proper boundaries of properties, and the most equitable assessment, a detailed survey was made of an area of seventy-two thousand square miles, inhabited by a population of nearly twenty-four millions of persons. Settlements were made for twenty and some for thirty years; some of those made in the earlier years of the adjustment are now nearly run out, and the occupancy has been satisfactory alike to the government and the tenant. A revenue of four millions sterling is obtained from the north-west government, the collection being easy, and the people contented. The following account of the survey and assessment of the north-western provinces, issued by the India-house, will explain the whole process of these operations, and enable the student of these pages to enter intelligently into the discussions which are now conducted, not only among politicians and political economists, but by many who have not qualified themselves to pronounce any opinion upon the subject:—

The objects of the survey were, first, to fix on each *mehal* or estate an assessment "calculated so as to leave a fair surplus profit;" and "for the punctual payment of that sum, the land is held to be perpetually hypothecated to the government;" secondly, to determine who are the "person or persons entitled to receive this surplus profit. The right thus determined is declared to be heritable and transferable, and the persons entitled to it are considered the proprietors of the land, from whom the engagements for the annual payment of the sum assessed by government on the mehal are taken." The proprietors, when there are more than one, being jointly and severally responsible for the sum assessed on each mehal, it also became necessary to determine the rule according to which they should share the profits, or make good the losses on the estate. When the proprietors were numerous, as was generally the case, engagements were taken only from a few of the body (*lumberdars*) who, for themselves and their co-proprietors, undertook to manage the mehal, and pay the sum assessed on it.

The first step in the process was to adjust the boundaries of each *mouzah*,* or village, and to prepare a map showing each field comprised in the mouzah. This being completed, the settlement officer proceeded to determine the assessment to be fixed on the land, by estimating, with as near an approach to accuracy as the means at his disposal would

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* *Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India.*

* *Mouzah* does not mean a village in the English sense of the term, but rather a compactly inhabited agricultural district.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK

permit, what might be expected to be the net produce[*] to the proprietor during the period of settlement; and of this amount about two-thirds was fixed as the demand of government. The village was then offered on these terms to the proprietors, and if they considered them too high, and declined to engage, the government either leased the estate to a farmer, or collected the rents direct from the cultivators; the excluded proprietors being entitled to a per-centage (called *malikana*) at not less than five per cent. on the revenue, and also having the right, at the expiration of twelve years, of claiming to be re-admitted to the management.

The fiscal operation of fixing the amount of revenue to be paid by the village being completed, the next process was to ascertain and record the rights possessed by all parties, whether called proprietors or not. When discordant claims were put forward, the question at issue was determined judicially on the spot. Provision is also made for maintaining the "record of rights" in a correct condition, by causing registers of all changes in the village to be kept by the *putwarree*, or village accountant, copies of which are annually forwarded to the collector's office.

A portion of the Bengal province itself has been lately settled on the principles just stated as carried out under the Agra government, adjusted to what is called the ryotwar (the system of the ryot tenure) already explained. The district referred to is Cuttack, to which "the permanent settlement" of Lord Cornwallis was not, from some cause, extended. The assessment is made on the holding of each ryot or tenant, but the collection is committed to a delegation of the ryots upon the village plan, or as close an approximation to it as can be made where the land is held by ryot tenure. So well has this scheme operated in Cuttack, that it has been applied also to the territory lately acquired from the nizam. It is now only in course of introduction, but, so far, with the same satisfactory results which have been realized in Cuttack. The plan has been much discussed in the India-house, and the directors have already recommended the Madras government, under which the ryotwar is prevalent, to take into consideration its eventual adoption in that presidency.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN THE NON-REGULATION PROVINCES.—The settlement of the various non-regulation provinces has proceeded upon plans satisfactory to the people, and which bear an affinity in their general principles to those described as adopted in the government of the north-west. The last experiment of the kind has been the only failure, where, doubtless it would have also succeeded if time for its working had been obtained. This experiment was made in Oude, and was among the circumstances which contributed to the revolt. The editor of a metropolitan journal thus writes:—"Throughout a great portion of Oude we found superior holders—some say proprietors, some say merely hereditary farmers, but at any rate, hereditary middlemen—holding large tracts between government and the cultivating communities, and responsible for the revenue. In Bengal they were generally recognised as proprietors, and the rights of the sub-holders were reduced to *nil*. In the north-west provinces they were generally set aside, but even to the present day there has been no more fertile source of argument and litigation than the rights of the most prominent of these *talookdars*, as we call them. Some have obtained decrees against government in the civil courts, and many receive a per-centage in compromise of their rights, or alleged rights. Now, in Oude this talookdaree system was particularly strong. Almost the whole country was parcelled out amongst great talookdars or zemindars, and, though under a Mohammedan government, these men were almost universally Hindoos—in fact, native chiefs; certainly more than mere farmers—and they had obtained great prescription, exercised great power and authority, and were, in fact, the feudatories (and very often the rebellious feudatories) of the government. They had their own forts, and troops, and guns. Under this system, the village proprietary rights, no doubt, became much more undefined, weak, and uncertain, than where the villagers hold direct of government; and, disused and precarious, those rights were sometimes little remembered or valued. Here, then, when we took possession, was a very puzzling question. With whom was the settlement to be made? The talookdars were strong and in possession the communities dormant, broken, ill-defined. It must take some time to suppress the one, and resuscitate the other. But revenue opinion in the north-west provinces has long run very strongly in favour of village proprietors; still stronger must it be in the Punjaub, where there is no doubt about the matter, and Oude was principally managed by officers from those provinces. The general result of the settlement has been to oust the talookdars, and make direct village settlements. Then immediately followed the rebellion. At first the talookdars behaved well to us personally. They are men of honour in their way; with

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[*] By net produce is meant the surplus which the estate may yield after deducting the expenses of cultivation, including the profits of stock and wages of labour.

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the butchery of the rabble they have no sympathy; to protect all who seek their protection is with them a point of honour. By none have so many European lives been saved as by these men. But our government was altogether upset; no time had yet elapsed sufficient to destroy the strength of the talookdars, or to enable the village proprietors to acquire strength in, or probably even any sufficient appreciation of their rights; the talookdars almost universally resumed what they considered to be their own again, and seem to have met with popular support. Thus they became committed against government, and, being committed, our severities at Allahabad and at Cawnpore led them to fear the worst."[*]

The Punjaub affords the company gratulation and triumph in the adjustment of its land revenue. When, in 1849, the Sikh territory was acquired, the "settlement" of it was committed to officers who had gained experience under the lieutenant-governorship of Agra. In many respects the government of the Punjaub has been more successfully administered than that of Agra,—the departments of education and public works will exemplify this,—and in revenue a claim to superiority is also well founded. The settlement made more rapid, and, so far at least, more satisfactory progress, than in the north-west. This, however, would naturally arise from the tentative character of the proceedings in the one case, and the assured and bold procedure of experience in a well-proved system in the other. The lettings in the Punjaub are on terms more favourable to the cultivators by twenty-five per cent. The result is universal contentment on the part of the people, and an easily collected and flourishing revenue for the government.[†] The Punjaub system is in fact the village and ryot systems combined, as in Cuttack. There is, however, diversity. The zemindar system—with some qualification in favour of the tenants, and the ryots, with but little intermixture of the village system—exists in the hills and in some places in the doabs. As far as circumstances and actual proprietary rights allow, the Agra system is introduced in all the non-regulation provinces.

THE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN BOMBAY.—In all southern India the ryot tenure is predominant, although in many directions other tenures were found in existence by the British when conquest placed the territory under their control. The Bombay ryot holds his land at a fixed rate, and as long as he pays it he cannot be dispossessed, but he is at liberty to give up the whole, or a part, whenever he may be so disposed. Until lately the assessments were too heavy, but the company made a considerable sacrifice of revenue to reduce the rate, and the improvement which has followed, both in the personal comfort of the ryot, and the state of the land which he cultivates, is very observable. Here, as in the north-west, the survey has been productive of the greatest benefit. The details of the process by which a better state of things is being produced in the tenures of land in Bombay cannot be so briefly, and at the same time completely, detailed, as in the following extract from a paper, issued by the court of directors, on the survey and assessment of the Bombay territory:—

The first step in the process is to determine the boundaries of the village. The area is then measured and mapped off into survey-fields. If the land is unoccupied, no division of a field is afterwards permitted. When a survey-field actually occupied is owned by several proprietors or sharers, no joint responsibility is admitted, but the sharers of each are separately shown in the map, and the separate proprietorship continues until one of the sharers dies without heirs, or otherwise vacates his share; on which event the vacated share must be taken up by the remaining sharers, or, on their refusal, the whole field must be relinquished. The object of these rules is to consolidate the small holdings, and set limits to the minute subdivision of landed property naturally arising from the Hindoo law of inheritance. But it is believed that, in practice, no difficulty has in such cases been found in inducing the remaining sharers to undertake the responsibility.

The fields of the village being thus measured and mapped, the next process is that of classification, for the purpose of determining the relative value of the fields into which the land is divided. After a minute examination of the physical characters of the soil, its depth, composition, &c., the following considerations are taken into account as regards the fields of the same village—viz., "their natural productive capabilities; their position with respect to the village, as affording facilities or otherwise for agricultural operations; and, in the case of garden or rice-lands, the supply of water for irrigation."

The measurement of the fields having been completed, and their classification determined, the amount of the assessment is next to be fixed. This operation is not performed by inquiring into the actual produce of the fields, but rather by an examination into the previous fiscal history of such groups of villages as are distinguished by similar physical characteristics. The statements of former collections, remissions, and balances, are collated with the existing rates of assessment. The climate, position with respect to markets, agricultural skill, and the actual condition of the cultivators, are taken into account; and from a consideration of these combined circumstances, rates are determined for each class of land; the object being to keep these rates within the limits of the natural rent. The rates being thus fixed, have only to be applied to the surveyed fields. The assessment is not liable to increase for thirty years. No extra levy is made in consequence of improvement raising the value of the tenure.

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[*] The *Sunday Times*, a paper which contains intelligence on the subject of Indian government and policy, showing an extensive acquaintance with the subject.

[†] *Reports of the Commissioners of the Punjaub*; Parliamentary Blue Books.

Scinde is a non-regulation province in connection with the government of Bombay, but the mode of assessment there has been peculiar. Until lately it was collected throughout the province in grain, by division of the crop. The proceeds in the hands of government were afterwards sold by reserve auction at what sometimes amounted to famine prices. Cash assessments are now rapidly superseding such an objectionable levy. Before long Scinde will share with the presidency to which it is attached the advantage of a more equitably measured and distributed rate of taxation.

LAND REVENUE IN MADRAS.—In Madras the three systems already noticed are all found, and a fourth which is peculiar to the presidency, and called *oolungoo*. This last exists only in Tanjore and Tinnevelly. It is peculiar in two respects: the rent is dependant upon the price of grain, and a special arrangement, as to profit and loss, exists between the government and the renter. The proportionate grain assessment needs no explanation. The arrangement as to profit and loss provides that if current prices in any year rise more than ten per cent., the government should have all the profit thus accruing; whereas, if prices fall more than five per cent., the government sustains all that loss.

The zemindar system in Madras has a sort of offshoot called *mootahdarry*, from "Mootah," a name given to a subdivision in the Northern Circars, where the custom prevails which receives its name.

The name of zemindarry is applied to all ancestral estates, while mootahdarry is given to the settlements of 1802.

Ryotwar is, however, the predominating scheme for land arrangements. The general settlements of the presidency have resulted from the labours of Colonel Reade, and Sir Thomas Munro, whose arrangements received the most marked approval of the company. The assessments were, however, excessive, and the ryots of Southern India were discontented and distressed until the late alterations for the melioration of their condition. The "annual settlement" operates, not as an annual lease, but as a recurring adjustment of the proportion of revenue to be levied.

In a work published a few years ago * by a gentleman well acquainted with both the Bombay and Madras systems, the ryotwar of the whole Deccan was discussed, and afforded a fair exhibition of the state of things both at Bombay and Madras. The condition of this class of tenants is thus set forth :—" The old plan was, we believe, substantially this :—the government demand was pitched so high, that even in the most favourable seasons a large portion of it always remained unrealized. The cultivator, with an assessment hanging over him which he never could hope to pay, was of course entirely in the hands of the revenue officers. These latter, at the proper season, surveyed his crops, and, from the judgment they formed of them, assessed him for the year. Even this assessment was usually higher than it was found possible to collect, so that large remissions had frequently to be made, and considerable balances were left unrecovered. The faults of such a system as this scarcely need to be pointed out. The constant meddling on the part of government officials—the large number of these which the system rendered it necessary to employ—the slavish dependance in which the ryot was retained—the corruption and petty tyranny on the one hand, and the absence of manly and independent feeling, and, therefore, of energetic and enterprising industry on the other,—were all necessary results of such arrangements. But, in addition to these, the revenue actually taken appears to have been on an average (although the rates in themselves were so small that an English farmer would laugh to hear them announced) decidedly greater than native tenants, with such knowledge, skill, materials, means, and industrial habits as they possessed, were able to pay without slowly diminishing their means for future cultivation." The new system by which that just described is being displaced is thus described by Mr. Green :—

The principal operations in the Deccan survey and assessment appear to be the following:

I. The surface survey; to determine, and mark permanently, the boundaries of each village and of each field.

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* *The Deccan Ryots and their Land Tenure.* By H. Green, Professor of Literature at Poonah College.

II. A survey and estimate of the quality of the soil in each field; and the assignment of a technical value to it per acre in an artificial scale of relative values ranging from an anna and a half to sixteen annas.

III. The division of the districts into groups of villages, such that those of each group may be supposed to possess nearly equal advantages of climate, markets, and convenience of carriage.

IV. The imposition on each group of villages of a total assessment, such as, from the past history of the group, it may fairly be expected to pay, and yet leave a considerable margin for the increase of the peasant's stock, and the consequent extension of cultivation.

V. A merely arithmetical operation—to wit, the assignment to each field of its share of the assessment in proportion to its size and its place in the scale of relative values.

At a time when the grossest misrepresentations of the land tenure of India, and of the exactions of the East India Company are being made for political and party purposes, and for the still more censurable objects of private resentment, by persons who have returned from India disappointed in various ways, it is important to draw attention to the following statement of the easy terms in which land is held in Southern India, and the disinterested and generous treatment the ryots receive from the company under the new system:—"The four Poonah talooks, with all the advantage of the largest market for agricultural produce in the Deccan, pay an average rent, it will be seen, of only seven annas and seven pies, or something less than a shilling an acre! In the Indapore talook the average is 8*d.* an acre! In Dharwar the land of the best class, the famous black soil of India, that on which cotton is grown, pays on an average but 14 annas (1*s.* 9*d.*)—the rate for the most eligible portion of this again being but 1 rupee, 7 annas, and 9 pies, or something less than three shillings! What would an English, or even an Irish, farmer say to such rates as 8*d.* an acre for a whole district, or three shillings per acre for the best land to be had? The bold reduction of their demands to such rates as these reflects certainly the highest credit on the liberality of the government; and one cannot but rejoice to see such a policy rewarded by an extension of agricultural industry, and the gradual restoration of the gross revenue to its former amount. But what volumes does the necessity for such rates tell of the wretched industrial character of the people, and their extreme unproductiveness!"

It is probable that the cultivators of the Deccan, however liberally dealt with as to taxation and rent (which are synonymous with them), will pay very little revenue, and remain miserably poor so long as mere coarse agricultural products are alone the result of their labour. The soil, the climate, the liberal terms on which land is held, the almost nominal amount of taxation, all favour a more enlightened, enlarged, and enterprising use of the land than appears at present likely. If the ryot of the Deccan had land for nothing, he would be ordinarily wretchedly poor, and in adverse seasons destitute. For the sake of the improvement of the people, the attainment of a larger revenue, and the promotion of civilization, means must be tried under the auspices of government for promoting a superior cultivation, the application of capital to husbandry, and a spirit of bolder enterprise in matters connected with the tenure of land.

So far as the revenue derived from the soil in India is concerned, the great majority of the people may be described as almost untaxed. The original right of the state to the land is recognised in India by the natives, and was reserved by the British when they obtained the sovereignty of the country. Wherever the land is let at its fair value,—and we have shown that in many places it is let beneath its fair value,—the people pay no taxes except such as is derived from salt, opium, the post-office, and a few minor sources. The rent they pay to the landlord—the government—is used for the general protection of the country, the administration of justice, and public works. They are, so far as the amount of the rent goes, spared from taxes; and when it is remembered that nearly two-thirds of the whole revenue consists in the rent of land, the people of India are, as a whole, the most lightly taxed in the world. The oppressed state of the Bengal cultivators, as has been shown, is the work of native zemindars, not of the government; but it is sad to reflect that the arrangement which has consigned them to such terrible exaction and injustice was the work of a British governor-general. It cannot be doubted that even in that case Lord Cornwallis intended that the rights of the cultivators should be secured, but they were too poor and too feeble to maintain these rights before unprincipled native judges, in the face of the powerful zemindars; and, as the board of directors admit, little by little, *sub silentio*, their rights as a class have passed away. For this some remedy must be provided, both for the credit of the government and the condition of the people of Bengal.

Revenue from Salt.—This may be considered the only tax which the ryot of India really feels. So far as the presidency of Madras is concerned the revenue from salt is obtained by means of a monopoly. The following paper, published by the revenue department of the East India Company, will show at a glance the present condition of the salt duties throughout India:—

Lower Provinces of Bengal.—Rate of duty $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per maund of $82\frac{2}{7}$ lbs. avoirdupois; government salt sold to the people at cost price added to the duty; importation unrestricted, and facilities given to persons willing to manufacture salt under excise regulations.

North-western Provinces.—Manufacture (from saliferous earths) prohibited. Duty on passing the frontier line, 2 rupees per maund, and 8 annas additional on crossing the Allahabad special line of chokeys.

Punjaub.—Salt-mines worked by the government, and the salt sold at the mines at 2 rupees per maund.

Fort St. George.—The manufacture of salt a government monopoly, the price charged to purchasers being a rupee per maund. Importation permitted, on payment of a duty of 14 annas (seven-eighths of a rupee) per maund, supposed to be equivalent to the profit obtained on the monopoly of salt.

Bombay.—No manufacture on the part of government. An excise duty of 12 annas per maund levied on home-made salt, and a customs duty of equal amount on imported salt.

In some instances this tax has been levied instead of others which were more likely to be burthensome, and the amount of remission on the whole in consequence of the salt duties has, according to the statements of the government, been greater than the tax thus imposed.

Although the salt tax was in some cases levied by the company where it did not previously exist, yet generally the imposition was one handed down from previous governments. Salt was an ancient source of revenue with most Asiatic sovereigns. At present it is calculated that the government is receiving a revenue from the tax in this commodity amounting to about two and a half millions sterling.

The Opium Revenue.—This is derived in two forms: first, by a monopoly in the cultivation and sale by the government of Bengal, and by opium farms in the Straits' settlements; secondly, by an export duty levied in Bombay on the article grown in the native states of Malwa, and shipped from the former place. It is grown in Bengal and in the settlements of the Straits entirely on government account, and sold by the company's officers to merchants, British or native. Merchants from Bombay purchase it in the native states in Malwa, and the government of that presidency exacts a transit duty. The effect of this monopoly on the one hand, and heavy transit duty on the other, is greatly to raise the price of the commodity, so that it has been sometimes sold for its weight in silver. The revenue at present being raised from this source is between four and five millions sterling.

Objections have been strongly urged, both on ethical and economical grounds, against this source of revenue. The defence of the company is, that if the government did not take the cultivation under its own control, and tax highly its transit from the native states into their territories, the poppy would be extensively grown on private account, and the drug become so cheap, as to be made an article of commerce by the people of India, to their injury morally and physically. As to selling it to the Chinese, who purchase nearly all that is produced, it is urged, that it is as impossible in commerce to take into account the uses made of articles for which there is an export market, as it would be, in the case of imported commodities, to institute an inquiry as to how they were produced. Such a principle was never established in morals, and would be impracticable if applied to trade. Considered in a fiscal point of view, the company regards it as an advantageous and equitable source of revenue, inasmuch as foreigners voluntarily pay the tax.

Some of these arguments, if good in the case of the opium monopoly, would also have been valid in the instance of the tobacco monopoly, which, nevertheless, was abolished without an equivalent in 1852, although yielding a revenue of £60,000 a year in Malabar. Tobacco seems to be a source of revenue as just as opium, and the company might fairly impose the duty.

Revenue from Customs.—The income of the government from this source is derived in two ways—inland dues and external commerce. The system of transit duties has for some years been gradually waning, except so far as the opium from Malwa is concerned. That source of revenue is likely to increase so long as the Chinese continue to import, and there is a possibility of much larger imports there. The company has removed restrictions from trade, abolished local taxes of all kinds, and influenced the native states to imitate this example to some extent. All those states promise greater conformity to British example in this matter, but the promises of some are insincere. In the Punjaub there are town dues, which are voluntarily submitted to by the people for local purposes, and great advantages have followed this voluntary corporate taxation. In some other places imposts have been laid for the exclusive purpose of local improvement. The government encourages the disposition to self-taxation for civic and local improvement in every possible way. The duties on external commerce have also been undergoing a process of gradual reduction. The import duties levied on British goods is five per cent. *ad valorem*. The total abolition of import duties on British goods has been urged on the government; it would be a boon to commerce, and not seriously affect the revenue. There is an export tax of three per cent. on the manufactures of India. In a despatch from the home government of 1846 this was represented as an impost, to be abolished as soon as the general state of the revenue would allow. It ought at once to be abrogated; it is impolitic, as well as opposed to political economy. It has also been in contemplation to abolish the import duty on British goods—at least, so it is alleged by the friends of the Honourable East India Company.

POST-OFFICE REVENUE.—The object of the tax is rather for public convenience than for revenue. The rates should be reduced, and the arrangements much improved, but in both respects the grand difficulties are the peculiarities of the country and the people who inhabit it. A comparatively low rate of uniform postage has been adopted with so much success, as to encourage bolder experiments in the same direction.

STAMP DUTIES.—In India stamped paper is required in all judicial proceedings, as well as for bills of exchange, agreements, receipts, and deeds; also for petitions and papers filed in court. About half a million sterling is thus realized, and it is probable that a much larger revenue will be raised in this manner.

ABKAREE.—This word signifies a tax on waters ("strong waters" being understood); and the revenue so called is derived from licenses to sell spirits. This tax is much more willingly paid in India than similar imposts in Europe.

SAYER.—This word signifies the remainder, and, used in revenue vocabulary, refers to unclassified taxes. It is levied on drugs of all kinds, except opium, which, as we have already seen, contributes to the revenue in other forms. There is a want of definiteness in the way in which this tax is imposed, and the range of articles subject to it, which gives rise to many complaints.

The abkaree and sayer, taken together, yield £1,000,000. These taxes are likely to be more productive. Peace and security would soon double the revenue thus derived.

The miscellaneous taxes contribute about £1,000,000.

The total revenue of India, exclusive of subsidies from native states, amounted in 1857 to nearly twenty-nine millions sterling. There can be no doubt that, as soon as order is established after the present revolt, taxation in India, wisely distributed, and keeping in view the principles of political economy, will yield many millions sterling more than it at present affords the government.

SUBSIDIES FROM NATIVE STATES.—For 1857 the sum of £510,166 is understood to have been collected from the tributaries. They are thus classed:—

	£.	£.
BENGAL.		
Tributes from the under-mentioned states:—		
Kotah	7,056	
Odeypore	18,516	
Mundy	9,375	
Jhalwar	7,500	
Banswarra	2,568	
Doongerpore	2,568	
Jeypore	37,500	
Serohee	1,269	
Various petty states	4,320	
Nizams's government on account of Mahratta Choute	10,183	100,805
MADRAS.		
Peishcush and subsidy:—		
Mysore government	229,687	
Travancore government	74,666	
Cochin government	18,750	323,103
BOMBAY.		
Subsidy from the Cutch government	15,795	
Kattywar tribute	56,105	
Various petty states	3,096	74,996
		498,904

This description of tribute is likely to increase. The tendency of events is to bring the quasi-independent states more and more into reliance upon the government for security, and this will of course involve proportionate increase in tribute.

The detailed items of principal expenditure, on an average of the four years preceding the mutiny of 1857 (which has, of course, considerably increased them), were stated in round numbers as follows:—

	£.
Charges incident to the collection of the revenue	6,000,000
Military and naval charges	11,000,000
Civil, judicial, and police	5,000,000
Public works	1,500,000
Interest on bond debt in India	2,000,000
Charges defrayed in England (including interest on home bond debt, payments on account of her majesty's troops and establishment). Charges of the East India-house and Board of Control	2,872,107
Allowances and assignments to native princes under treaties and other engagements	1,000,000
Dividends to proprietors of East India stock	627,893
Total	30,000,000

The expenditure, it will be seen, exceeds the income. To meet that excess money has been raised on bond in England. About a fifth part of the existing debt has been incurred in this manner.

In India money is raised in the following way:—The company advertises that it is ready to receive loans at specified rates, and on specified conditions. "Loan-notes" are given in acknowledgment of the moneys paid into the treasury.

The amount of debt in England and India is now nearly sixty millions sterling.

In the year ending April 30th, 1857, the excess of expenditure over income amounted to £1,981,062.

The accounts for the presidency of Bengal during the last four years have shown a uniform deficit; those for the north-west provinces a uniform surplus.

The returns of the other presidencies as to surplus and deficit varied during that time.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE (*Continued*).

LAW AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

The state of the law in India must be regarded in two points of view—as it relates to the native population, and in reference to English residents.

It may be laid down as a general principle in the legal government of British India, that the laws and general systems of jurisprudence which the company found in existence upon the acquisition of any province were preserved in force until otherwise determined by new regulations by the new government. These were sometimes instituted by orders in council, and sometimes by act of parliament.

The imperial legislature and the governor-general in council both legislate for India at present, but no act of the latter must contravene or supersede the acts of the former.

The acts passed by the governor-general in council extend to the British as well as to the natives in India, a circumstance which has proved a fruitful source of discontent to independent English residents, although that dissatisfaction was not always founded in justice and reason. The discontent of English residents was formerly sometimes occasioned by the precipitancy with which acts of the governor and council were passed, by which they considered their interests unfavourably affected. The directors accordingly ordered that before any act was so passed notice should appear in the leading journals of the presidencies for some time (generally a few months) before the measure was passed into a law, so as to give opportunity for such classes as might deem themselves aggrieved by it to state their objections.

When an act is passed, it is always published in the language of the district to which it is intended to apply, and also in English and in Ordoo, a dialect of the Hindoostanee supposed to be known by the better informed natives.

The acts of the governor-general in council may be enforced as soon as published, but copies must be laid before the imperial parliament, by which they may be altered or abolished. All acts of the governor-general in council are laws, on the assumption that the imperial government does not disapprove of them.

PROVINCE OF THE SUPREME COURTS.

Law applicable to British-born Residents of India.—The supreme courts are established in the capitals of the three presidencies. There is a local jurisdiction besides, which the supreme court at Calcutta exercises in that city. This local jurisdiction is civil and criminal, and refers to all persons, English or natives, within the limits, but its ecclesiastical authority does not extend to Hindoos or Mohammedans, except for granting probates of wills.

The court also exercises authority over all British-born subjects and their descendants, born in India, who are resident in Bengal and the north-west provinces, with the exception of the queen's troops and their families.

It also extends to natives of India, who are under any contract or special legal obligation to any British-born subject, where the cause of action exceeds the sum of five hundred rupees (£50), and so far as the contract is concerned.

All persons who avail themselves of the court's jurisdiction in any matter are held liable to its authority in all other matters affected by the particular case in which they have made it available.

"All persons who, at the time of action brought or cause of action accrued, are or have been employed by, or directly or indirectly in the service of, the East India Company, or any British subject, are liable to the civil jurisdiction of the court in actions for wrongs or trespasses, and also in any civil suit by agreement of parties in writing to submit to the jurisdiction of the said court; and all persons who, at the time of committing any crime, misdemeanour, or oppression, are or have been employed, or directly or indirectly in service as aforesaid, are liable to the criminal jurisdiction of the court."

"The supreme courts at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, have criminal jurisdiction over all British subjects for crimes committed at any place within the limits of the company's charter—that is, any part of Asia, Africa, or America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, or for crimes committed in any of the lands or territories of any native prince or state, in the same way as if the same had been committed within the territories subject to the British government in India."

The admiralty jurisdiction of the court extends over the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and all the adjacent territories and islands; and the criminal authority connected with this jurisdiction extends to all crimes committed on the high seas, in as full a manner as that of any other court of admiralty.

The law administered is as follows:—

First. The common law as it prevailed in England in the year 1726, and which has not subsequently been altered by statutes especially extending to India, or by acts of the legislative council of India.

Secondly. The statute law which prevailed in England in 1726, and which has not subsequently been altered by statute especially extending to India, or by the acts of the legislative council of India.

Thirdly. The statute law expressly extending to India, which has been enacted since 1726, and has not been since repealed, and the statutes which have been extended to India by the acts of the legislative council of India.

Fourthly. The civil law as it obtains in the ecclesiastical and admiralty courts.

Fifthly. Regulations made by the governor-general in council, previously to the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, and registered in the supreme court, and the acts of the legislative council of India made under the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85.

The exceptions are Hindoos and Mohammedans in the following cases:—

First. Actions regarding inheritance and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party in which both parties are Hindoos. Such cases are to be determined by the laws and usages of Hindoos.

Secondly. Actions of the same kind where both parties are Mohammedans; and in these the case is to be determined by the laws and usages of Mohammedans.

Thirdly. Actions of the same kind where only one of the parties is a Mohammedan or Hindoo; and these are to be determined by the laws and usages of the defendant.

The procedure on the different sides of court is similar to the procedure of the corresponding courts in England, with this difference—that, as directed by the charter, the *vivâ voce* examinations of witnesses, are taken down in writing, and the depositions are signed by the witnesses themselves. The new rules in law and equity passed from time to time in this country are quickly adopted by the judges in India, as far as circumstances will admit, and applied with the requisite modifications to their own practice.

In all suits where the property in dispute is above the value of ten thousand rupees (£1000) there is a right of appeal to her majesty in council.

The supreme court consists of a chief justice and two other judges. It appoints its own ministerial officers, who are paid by salaries. The court admits and enrols as many advocates and attorneys as it thinks proper, and none other can plead or in any way act for parties in suits. The qualification of advocates is having been called to the English or Irish bar, or having been entitled to practise as an advocate in Scotland. The court has, however, the power to admit persons who have not this general qualification. The qualification for admission as an attorney is, that the applicant has been admitted an attorney of one of her majesty's principal courts of record in England or Ireland, or a writer to the signet in Scotland, or a member of the society of solicitors practising before the court of session there, or that he has served a regular clerkship before the court of session there, or that he has served a regular clerkship of five years, under a contract in writing to some attorney practising in the court, or that he is or has been a principal clerk to one of the judges. The advocates and attorneys practise under the same names as in England.

The annual expense of the supreme court is nearly half a million of rupees. Nearly half of this sum is appropriated to the salaries of the judges. The salaries of the officers and general expenses consume the remainder. There is, in addition to this expenditure, the emolument of the registrar, which is supplied by fees on the estates of persons dying intestate.

The supreme court of judicature at Madras consists of a chief-justice and two other judges, who must have previously been barristers of five years' standing at the English or Irish bar. The powers and jurisdictions of the court within the presidency are generally the same as those in Bengal,—under the supreme court at Fort William.

The supreme court of judicature at Bombay is constituted in a similar manner to that of Madras.

The laws and judicial proceedings in reference to the native population are founded in the native systems of jurisprudence which existed before the advent of English power. The modifications of these systems latterly adopted have, however, been important. The object is to administer the law to every man according to his religion or nationality; and when the parties at variance do not possess a common religion or nationality, the custom of the place regulates the decision; and if there be no established custom in connection with the matter in question, the law to which the defendant has ostensibly held himself amenable is that which measures the administration of justice.

In the Bombay presidency Mohammedan law is but little known. There the Elphinstone code, compiled by Mr. Elphinstone when governor of that presidency, generally prevails. It only has effect where natives are concerned; and although both civil and criminal, it operates chiefly on civil disputes.

Civil Courts.—The principles of these courts are generally the same, but differences exist in different parts of India in the practice and the designations of the officers.

The lowest class of civil courts are presided over by natives. The *moonsif* (a name of Arabic derivation, signifying judge) has a district allotted to him, and is empowered to decide upon questions of property, whether "real or personal." In Bombay this right extends to disputes concerning property of £500 in value; in Madras of £100 in value; elsewhere the property cannot exceed a valuation of £30. This class of judge is generally nominated from *vakeels* (Arabic for agent or attorney), after they have undergone a general examination. The salaries of £15 and £10 per mensem are given to the moonsifs, according to their grade.

The sudder aumeens (the word *aumeen* is Arabic, and means chief trustee) constitute a higher class of judges, and receive £25 per mensem. There are also principal sudder aumeens, who receive from £40 to £60 per mensem respectively, according to their rank, which depends upon their capacity.

The zillah judges are Europeans (a *zillah* is a large section of territory), and always belong to the covenanted service of the company. Appeals from the native judges may be made to the zillah. He tries all original suits above £500, but has power to refer them to the principal sudder aumeens, which it is the practice very generally to do. The zillah courts are assisted by natives in various capacities—such as jurors, assessors, and arbitrators. The arbitrators are generally five in number, and are collectively, from that circumstance, called a *punchayet*.

In proceedings the plaint must be lodged on a stamp proportioned to the amount of claim. The pleadings are in writing. Witnesses are not subject to cross-examination. An appeal lies from the zillah to the court of *sudder dewaung adawhut* (the chief civil justice). There are four of these courts in the four governments—viz., one in the chief city of each presidency, and one in the capital of the lieutenant-governancy of the north-west. The judges are members of the covenanted civil service, and men of much experience. These courts entertain no original cases; they are courts of appeal, and their decision is final. The courts sit daily, except during such native festivals as render the transaction of business impossible. The salary of the judges is £4200 per annum. Although the decisions in these courts are considered final, as the highest courts of law, there is, nevertheless, an appeal from thence to her majesty in council.

Criminal Law.—There is some diversity in the criminal administration. It is generally grounded upon the Mohammedan law: the diversities are, for the most part, English modifications.

In Bengal, beyond the capital, each district is committed to a magistrate, and contains fifteen or twenty subdivisions or *thanahs*, each of which is placed under a subordinate officer, called a *thanadar* or *darogah*. Each of these last-named functionaries has under him the following establishment:—a clerk or writer, a *jemadar* or sergeant, and twenty or thirty policemen. The darogahs are generally Mohammedans or Hindoos. Besides this machinery for the apprehension of criminals, there are also a large number of village police or watchmen, appointed by the village committees, or by the zemindars. These functionaries, who are not generally supposed to be very efficient, amount, in Bengal proper, to the large number of one hundred and seventy thousand. The darogahs, or inspectors of police, are invested with a certain measure of summary authority in cases of affrays, disturbances of the peace, &c., but are bound to bring all other matters under the previous cognizance of the magistrate, who has the power of punishment to the extent of imprisonment for two years in certain cases, in some others for three years; but ordinarily his power extends to imprisonment for six months, and a fine of two hundred rupees, and if the fine be not paid, to a further imprisonment of six months. Corporal punishment was abolished by Lord William Bentinck, but has since been revived in case of theft, where the property stolen does not exceed fifty rupees in value, and for juvenile offenders, as well as in certain crimes committed by convicts.

The sessions judge is the officer next in the ascending scale of rank, and appeals lie to him in certain cases from the magistrate. He is the same individual who acts in a civil capacity, before mentioned, as zillah judge. In Bengal his original jurisdiction is limited to offenders committed by the magistrate to take their trial at the sessions.

In Madras, the sessions judge is aided by a subordinate judge, who acts as committing officer instead of magistrate. In Bombay the sessions judge is aided by an officer called the "assistant sessions judge."

The sessions judge has the power of punishment to the extent of nine years' imprisonment, and, in certain aggravated cases, of sixteen years. All cases involving punishments above those limits are referred to the sudder court, which is composed of the same judges as the supreme court of civil appeal, called the *sudder nizamut** *adawlut*, in Bengal, and the *foujdary*† *adawlut* in Madras and Bombay. This court decides on the record and report of the sessions judge. It never hears oral evidence; but if the case requires more elucidation, sends it back to the sessions judge, with orders to take further evidence on particular points; and its ultimate decision is final.

If the judges of the nizamut concur in the verdict of the lower court, and the prisoner be considered deserving of a higher degree of punishment than could be awarded by the sessions judge, he may be sentenced to suffer death, or to undergo imprisonment for twenty-one years; but if sentenced to imprisonment for life, then transportation for life, either to the penal settlements of Singapore, Penang, or Malacca, the Tenesserim provinces, Arracan, or Aden, would be substituted; but no native of India can be transported beyond the company's territories. If the case be not capital, it is decided by the sentence of a single judge. Sentences of death require the concurrence of two judges. The government has the power of pardon or mitigation, but it is seldom exercised.

There are in Bengal two modes of trial, in one of which a Mohammedan law officer, or assessor, expounds the law; but if the prisoner is not a Mohammedan, he may refuse to be so tried, and for such cases there is a system of juries, or assessors, or punchayet. The sessions judge may reject the opinion of the Mohammedan law officer, on points expressly provided for by the regulations, and that opinion may be overridden altogether by the sudder court. When the case is tried with a jury, or *punchayet*, the decision may be overruled, and sentence awarded to the extent of the judge's competence. Cases tried by the magistrate are generally prosecuted by the party injured.

With respect to Madras and other parts of British India, except Bombay, it may be stated generally that the system of criminal administration, though differing in some particulars, is based on the same general principles as that existing in Bengal. The police, who are in Bengal and Bombay placed under the command in chief of a superintendent, specially charged with that duty, are in Madras placed under the governor in council, and in the north-west provinces under the commissioners of revenue. In the Punjaub there is a military preventive police of foot and horse, who furnish guards for jails, treasuries, frontier-posts, and escort of treasure.

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* *Nizamut* is an Arabic word, which means "arrangement, or reducing to order;" and governors of provinces under the Mohammedan government were sometimes designated by names derived from the same root, as the *nazim* and the *nizam*.

† From *foujdar*, the general, or holder of a *fouj* or army.

It may also be noticed that, with respect to the professional criminals peculiar to India, called Thugs and Dacoits, a special police, invested with summary powers, is organized under one superintendent for all India.*

Law reform in India has been for a considerable time engaging the attention of government. Under the statute 3 & 4 William IV., a commission for this purpose was appointed, and "the Indian law commissioners" reported elaborately, recommending various reforms. By section 28 of 16 & 17 Victoria, chapter 95, her majesty was empowered to appoint commissioners in England to consider and report upon these proposed reforms. Accordingly, at the close of 1853, a commission was appointed, consisting of very able persons—viz., Sir John Romilly, Sir John Jervis, Sir Richard Ryan, C. H. Cameron, J. M. Macleod, I. A. F. Hawkins, T. F. Ellis, and R. Lowe. Subsequently Mr. Hawkins accepted the post of secretary to the committee, and the name of W. Millet was substituted, March 17, 1854. A quorum of three of the commissioners had power to call for persons and papers according to their discretion, for the purposes of their investigation. Four reports were presented by these commissioners—the last bearing date May 20, 1856. The reports thus prepared were sent out to India, but the occurrence of the mutiny rendered it impossible that they could receive from the authorities there the necessary consideration. In England men acquainted with Indian affairs have not acquiesced in all the recommendations of the commissioners; nor were they unanimous—two of their number especially dissenting from some of the reports, and finally retiring from the commission. These gentlemen were Lord-chief-justice Jervis and Mr. Lowe. This circumstance caused much discussion as to the reports, especially the second and fourth, which these gentlemen refused to sign.

That a sweeping reform is necessary, all who know India will admit. The native courts are very imperfect, so far as the *modus operandi* is concerned, and very generally deficient as to the essence of justice itself. The native witnesses, juries, and police, are utterly corrupt and perjurious. Whether the interests or feelings of the native officials be for or against the government, they are rapacious, unjust, and cruel. Some of the most barefaced robberies and barbarous outrages committed in India are perpetrated by native officials in the name of the government, and without the knowledge (in the individual cases) of the European officers.

Much advantage has been taken, upon the continent of Europe, of these facts to spread abroad a feeling throughout the world that the government of India is unjust and oppressive. In the celebrated French pamphlet lately published at Paris, and alleged to have been written by a Crimean general, such use is made of a fact morally injurious to the government of India, yet which never received its countenance, and against which its strenuous efforts have been put forth. In the presidency of Madras native agents have employed torture upon native tenants to extort revenue, and the writer of the pamphlet might have known the truth had he chosen to make inquiry at the proper source, instead of catching up such a version of the fact as implicates the government of India in acts which it abhors. "For forty-six years the East India Company has ignored the facts, or rather allowed them to be committed. The company has its agents, who employ torture to wring their last farthing from poor peasants, and that money, wet with blood and tears, is not employed either in the material well-being of the people or in the improvement of their intelligence; it enters the coffers of the company, or those of the English government, and gives high salaries to the *employés*, and good dividends to the shareholders. The Indians—those tigers with human faces, as the *Times* calls them—at last revolt: those 'capricious and violent animals,' treated with contempt, and oppressed beyond measure, rise on their oppressors; they desire to shake off the English yoke and English oppression, and to free themselves from English contempt; they desire to oppose the return of torture; they have forty-six years of torture to pay back on England, and they take up arms." After describing the manner in which the Hindoos are tortured by the company, he exclaims:—"Certainly, never did the imagination of the executioners of the middle ages, nor that of the most ferocious planters of America, devise more atrocious means to torture human creatures; and if any one, and the least cruel, of those means, had ever been applied by order of the Emperor of Austria or the King of Naples, England would have sent forth shouts of indignation, and the names of those two sovereigns would be to this day affixed to the pillory of public indignation. These tortures are inflicted in the nineteenth century on the unfortunate Indians, and their object is the collection of the imposts which are applied to pay the huge salaries of the English functionaries, younger sons of great English families, and the dividends of the company's shareholders. English philanthropy does not think it necessary to stir itself." False as this malevolent allegation of modern French hatred to England is, so far as it reflects upon either the government of India, the provocatives of the Indian mutiny, or the feelings of English philanthropists, yet it discloses how the actual evils of administration and misdeeds of native officers have involved the government and the name of England in odium. It is essential to the future prosperity of India, to the cause of justice, and to the renown of England, that the native courts should be literally ransacked by the hand of a stern investigation, and such means adopted as are possible to rid the government of the dishonour of those classes of native functionaries who are amongst the most corrupt, perjurious, and cruel of mankind. Justice demands the admission that the company has been for some time putting in force its powers to effect administrative reform in all descriptions of courts and offices, and in the new governments the measures taken have been in consonance with British sense of justice, and with native rights.

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* Compiled by Arthur Mills, Esq., M. P., from the acts relating to India.

The late Sir Henry Lawrence, in one of his early reports of the commission in the Sikh territory, thus describes the policy pursued in reference to local and native institutions, showing that a wise superintendence may turn them to account, notwithstanding the danger of intrusting to native hands alone the dispensing of justice:—"Each city in the Punjaub is managed by a body of men called *punches*; they answer to our corporations in England. The office is chiefly hereditary, but not always so. If the hereditary talent is weak, an infusion of able and intelligent men, by common consent, is permitted. The government of the day sometimes, but very rarely, deposed an obnoxious member of the corporation. On the death of one of the members, the government presented a *khillut* to his heir, thus recognising his succession to the office. The district officer who obtains the co-operation of this body can do anything; without it he is helpless. The governor-general last year conferred the title of *raie* and *rai buhadoor* on the members and leaders of the Umritsur punch, which distinguished honour gratified them much, and had the most happy effect."

The directors, in their late appeal, have reasonably maintained that the expense of administering justice by European agency over so vast a field, and to so many millions of people, would be too great for any one to affirm its practicability. This, however, is certain, that if native agency be "not a question of expediency, but of necessity," security should be taken far more rigidly than has as yet been done for the character of the officials to whom any trust is committed. The following statement of the chairman and deputy-chairman is undoubtedly beyond controversy:—"Since the first institution of the legislative council, few years have passed in which there have not been one or two legislative measures for the improvement of the procedure of the civil courts. The object of some has been to facilitate the progress of suits through their various stages; of others, to secure the correct recording of the judgment, by prescribing that it shall be made by the judge himself; of others, to insure a more speedy and certain execution of judgments; of others, to render more efficient the systems of regular and special appeals. Legislative measures have also been taken for reforming the law of evidence; for the abolition of Persian as the language of record; and for putting the office of native pleader on a more efficient and respectable footing. The defects of the criminal courts have likewise largely engaged the attention of the legislature, and much has been done for their improvement. But notwithstanding these partial amendments, it cannot be said that the courts, in what are called the regulation provinces, have yet been freed from their radical defects. The principal impediments to a good administration of justice are, the complicated and technical system of pleading in the civil courts, and in the criminal courts the character of the police."

In the regulation provinces the administration of justice is baulked by tedious processes and endless technicalities. Justice is neither swift nor cheap; and the late Mr. Colvin admitted that even in the north-west provinces the courts of justice were regarded by the people with dislike.

In the non-regulation provinces the government has shaken off the fetters of prescription and routine, and, trusting these new states to the hands of gifted administrators, justice is dispensed without favour, and freely. The following report on this subject, by Sir John Lawrence, from the Punjaub, will be read with interest by all who wish in England as well as India, cheap and speedy justice:—"No effort has been spared to render justice cheap, quick, sure, simple, and substantial; every other consideration has been rendered subordinate to these cardinal points. We are, indeed, without elaborate laws, but we have brief rules, explaining, in an accessible form, the main provisions of the several systems of native law on such matters as inheritance, marriage, adoption, testamentary or other disposition of property; and setting forth the chief principles to be observed in other branches of law—such as contracts, sale, mortgage, debt, commercial usage. We have the most open and liberal provisions for the admission of evidence. We have complete arrangements for reference to arbitration, and for the ascertainment of local custom. We have a procedure without any pretension to technical exactitude, but a procedure which provides for the litigants and their respective witnesses being confronted in open court, for a decision being arrived at immediately after this brief forensic controversy, and for judgment being delivered to the parties then and there. We have a method of executing decrees which, while it allows no door to be opened for evasion or delay on the part of the defendant, and thus renders a decree really valuable to the plaintiff, as being capable of ready enforcement, and gives him his right free from lien, encumbrance, or doubt, yet, on the other hand, prevents the defendant from being hastily dealt with, or from being placed at the mercy of his creditor. We have small-cause courts scattered all over the country, and several regular courts at every central station, so that everywhere justice is near. Our civil system may appear rough and ready; whether it would be suited to other provinces, in a different stage of civilization, and with a different machinery at command, may be a question, but in the Punjaub it attains the broad and plain object aimed at, and without doubt gives satisfaction to the people. But in order to regulate the administration of justice, a complete system of reporting has been established. Month by month the reports of every court are transmitted to the judicial department at head-quarters, and are there criticized. At the close of each year these reports, and the figures embodied in them, are collated, averages are struck, division is compared with division, and district with district, and the general result, with a brief critique by superior authority, indicating the defects to be avoided, and the reforms to be emulated, is published for the information of all officers concerned. It is believed that many improvements in the working of the courts are traceable to this system. Every court works under a constant sense of supervision, and with the great objects to be aimed at perpetually in view, and standing out in strong relief."

One of the greatest evils in connection with the police system in portions of the old provinces has been the union of police and revenue functions in the same persons. These persons were ill-paid natives, whose interest it was to extort for their employers, unless bribed by the tenants. This accounted for the torture at Madras, and for many of the acknowledged evils which until lately prevailed in Bombay. Since the administration of Sir George Clerk in the latter presidency, the two classes of functions have ceased to be combined in the duties of the same functionaries. In the general superintendence of the men a better order and more vigilant oversight is now maintained. Before the mutiny broke out the directors had recommended the government in India to carry out the principle of separating revenue and criminal jurisdiction on the part of the police throughout India; also to secure efficient European command over all departments of this description of force. The police system of the Punjaub is that which the directors have decided upon as their model, and empowered the government in India to adopt it in Bengal, upon its judgment of the expediency of so doing, as occasion may prove opportune. The police system of the Punjaub is as follows:—It consists of two parts—the preventive, with a military organization, and the detective, with a civil organization. The preventive police consists of foot and horse; each regiment has its own native commandant, and the whole force is superintended by four European officers. Both arms of the service are regularly armed and equipped, and are ready at a moment's notice to reinforce the civil police. The civil police consists, first, of a regular establishment, paid by the state; secondly, of the city watchmen, paid from a fund raised by the levy of town duties; and, thirdly, of the village police, nominated by the landholders, confirmed in their offices by the magistrate, and paid by the villagers. The infantry of the military preventive police furnish guards for jails, treasuries, frontier posts, and city gates, and escorts for treasure. The cavalry are posted in detachments at the civil stations; and smaller parties, stationed at convenient intervals along the grand lines of road, serve as mounted patrols. The general duties of the civil police consist in reporting crimes, tracking and arresting criminals, and procuring evidence against them.* It is impossible to doubt that if this system be carried out through India under competent European officers, and under such modifications as the different provinces require, that the administration of justice will be greatly aided, and the suppression of crime decisively promoted.

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* *Memorandum of Improvements in India by the Court of Directors.*

The East India Company has in its own civil service the machinery with which to work for the reform in civil and criminal administration, which, although in progress, requires a still more rapid and decided development. The following language of one whose experience well qualified him to give an opinion should have due weight with the English public:—"Let us hope, therefore, that whatever may be the changes to be made in the controlling authority at home, the administrative power in India may be allowed to remain in the hands of an official body, set apart from their youth for this special duty, and whose primary object it may be to administer the country for the benefit of its inhabitants, trusting thus best to promote the real interests of their own parent-land. It is immaterial whether the body into whose hands the internal government is to be intrusted shall be called the civil service, or receive any other appellation, provided the principle be maintained of employing in the territorial government of India those only who have been educated and trained expressly for that duty. If a knowledge of English law shall really prove to be a requisite for the efficient discharge of civil functions, the addition of a few years to the prescribed age of admission will probably bring what is wanted into the ranks of the civil service." *

The full extent of the contemplated police reforms in India may be seen by the reader in the return made to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated the 5th of February, 1858. This return consists in a copy of India judicial despatch of the 4th of November, 1857, No. 61, and Madras judicial despatch, dated the 30th of September, 1857, No. 13, relative to police. From these returns, it appears that the board of directors called the attention of the governor-general to this subject on the 24th of September, 1856, their despatch being based upon the minutes of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, dated the 30th of April, 1856, relative to the administration of criminal justice and police. The following passages from the despatch shows the desire of the directors to reform the existing police system, and the obstruction given to their views by the governor-general in council:—

"The leading features of the reform suggested in our despatch of the 24th of September, 1856, were the organization of a well-armed, equipped, and disciplined police force, upon a plan common for all India; the separation of the police from the administration of the land revenue; the division of the police into separate portions, as preventive and detective; the transfer of the management of the district police from the magistrates to an European officer, with no other duties, and responsible to a general superintendent of police for the whole presidency or lieutenant-governorship, and an increase to the pay of the police, in order to raise their *status*, and to secure their honest and efficient service.

"You are of opinion, that 'it is better to deal with each presidency separately, according to its own merits, subject to those leading principles which should be common to all, than to endeavour to frame a general scheme for the whole of India,' and you have begun with the lower provinces of the Bengal presidency, in which the reform is perhaps more loudly called for than any other part of India.

"As the subordinate police establishments of the regulation provinces in the territories subject to the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, are distinct from those entertained for the administration of the land revenue, the question of their separation has not come under your consideration on the present occasion.

"In regard to the Bengal police, you are of opinion that it should not be 'after a military fashion;' that the appointment of one superintendent of police for the whole of the lower provinces is not expedient; and that the existing system of dividing the country into manageable tracts, consisting of four or five districts, and placing each division under the superintendence of a commissioner, having authority in all executive departments, including the police, is the best which has yet been devised for India, and one which works well in Bengal, as well as elsewhere, wherever it has been introduced; that a movable corps of station guards, or military police, should be attached to each division, employed ordinarily in station and escort duties, but ready to assist the civil police in case of need; that, to provide for the closer supervision of the subordinate police, the number of deputy-magistrates should be considerably increased, and that the pay of the police should be raised.

"The general result, then, of your recommendation is the maintenance of the police in Bengal very much upon the existing system, but paid at higher rates than is the case at present, and strengthened and assisted by divisional corps of a semi-military character."

The directors then refer to the great Indian authorities—such as Sir John Lawrence, Mr. Colvin, &c.—whose views favoured the adoption of the plans recommended for the consideration of the governor-general in council, which the directors still commend, but do not enforce, deferring to the wisdom and zeal of the actual government in India. It is impossible to give attention to this subject without coming to the conclusion that the Punjaub system is in the main applicable to Bengal, both in the upper and lower provinces, and that the opinion of the directors was based upon a sounder view of the requisites of the country, and the adaptations of the change proposed, than that of the governor-general and his council. The mutiny threw more light upon the question, and further, and strongly, afforded confirmation of the justice and wisdom of the scheme which the directors had approved.

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* Thomas Campbell Robertson, late a member of the supreme council of India, and lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE (*Continued*).

PUBLIC WORKS.

Under this head a considerable outlay takes place, to which it is unnecessary in this chapter to give more than a passing notice, that description of expenditure having been referred to on former pages. The votes for purposes of religion and education are of this character. When describing the religions of India, and the state of education, the part taken by the government in connection with these matters was stated and discussed. Churches are built, large sums of money expended on bishops, clergy, and chaplains, a small amount given to clergymen of the Church of Scotland, and various religious societies have aids granted to their schools for the purpose of educating the natives. The policy of this is arraigned by many, including those sects which object to the interference of government in matters of religion, and by many who approve of the endowment system, but consider it inapplicable to India. On the other hand, the directors, the Board of Control, and the government of India, are pressed exceedingly by all sorts of claimants among the religious denominations who advocate the state endowment of religion; and, under the plea of education, money is solicited and granted which virtually amounts to an endowment of the particular creed on behalf of which it is given. All classes approve of regimental chaplains, but a section of the English public would confine those appointments to ministers of the Established Church; a still larger section would extend the appointments to clergymen of the Church of Scotland, but exclude the Roman Catholic clergy, who, on their part, claim a recognition of equal rights, and a provision for the religious instruction and consolation of the Roman Catholic soldiers, as extensive as that which is admitted to be necessary for their Protestant comrades.

Large sums of money are given for native schools, mosques, and temples, against which the earnest religious public of England protest, as an identification of the British nation with idolatry and Mohammedanism. This protest is perhaps most ardently urged by those who are the chief claimants for churches and schools as instruments for propagating Christianity. These questions have exceedingly embarrassed the directors, who have generally been, on principle, opposed to all endowments of Christian sects in India, although willing to recognise such provisions for the support of temples and mosques as they found in actual existence when the territories where those structures stand became British property. It has generally been under the pressure of English public opinion, more especially exercised upon the imperial government, and at the instance of the latter irrespective of such popular pressure, that the directors have interfered with native, or instituted Christian, endowments.

It has been shown on former pages that the superior officers of the company have been generally too ready to conciliate Brahminical and Mohammedan prejudices by gifts and grants of public money for their religious purposes, some of them being of the most fanatical, cruel, and corrupt kind. The Lawrences, in the Punjaub, have been especially adduced as instances of this, at a time when it was in their power to have shown that the government was determined, upon principle, not to contribute in any way to the support of Mohammedan and idolatrous institutions, however willing to recognise endowments which it found in existence when its rule was established.

Of late the directors have gone with the tide of English opinion, and endeavoured gradually to sever their connection with all idolatrous and Moslem institutions on the one hand, while they have extended a more liberal hand to Christian churches and schools on the other. This has been as impolitic as unrighteous. It is simply unjust to apply the public moneys gathered from the followers of Mohammed, or Buddha, or Vishnu, to purposes of a religious nature, hostile to the sincere prejudices of those who pay the taxes thus applied. The injustice of this is so obvious, that it is marvellous how men can be rendered by their prejudices so little dispassionate as not to perceive how inequitable is such a course. It is also impolitic: the religious establishments of India have affected the minds of the natives most unfavourably towards the English government and nation. It is notorious that they entertain no hostility to voluntary missions, nor is the anger of the heathen generally awakened by arguments against his creed, although the Mohammedans are in this respect intolerant. When, however, any description of missionaries adopt language which in the least implies that the authority of government is to be, or ought to be, imparted to the controversy, the people are susceptible of great alarm for their faith. They do not fear its being overturned by argument; but their terror of its being overturned by law may be aroused by the smallest deviation from the appearance of government impartiality. The natives are perfectly aware that some of the Christian sects are connected with government, while others labour, or have laboured, independently of its patronage or control, and were even objects of official jealousy. Whatever falls from the lips of the missionaries identified with the state is noted by the natives carefully, and whenever any imprudent expression escapes these good men as to the desireableness of *suppressing* caste or religious custom, however qualified the language, it is caught up, and circulated with that facility for circulating reports characteristic of Asiatics. In like manner, every Christian church, and every Christian school, supported out of the public taxation of India, is regarded by the natives as a standing memorial of subjugation, not merely of their nationality, which is comparatively little valued, but of their religion. These facts are denied by many clergymen and civilians, who allege that the people are too ignorant to understand such matters. This is a mistake. Some of course are too ignorant to comprehend any question of religion or policy, but they are all well enough informed to know that the religions of Hindoostan and of England are different, and that the former is in danger of being supplanted by the latter. They perceive that the change is taking place by the progress of opinion; they submit unmurmuringly, and call it destiny; but if they conceive that it is taking place by the action of a government which professes not to use its power or authority, as a government, for any such purpose, they deem it faithless, cease to regard it with loyalty, consider, even if they have "eaten its salt," that they are released from their allegiance by the breach of faith, and await the first opportune occasion to free their religion from the perils which beset it. The whole tone of the language used by the revolted sepoys shows that they feared, not so much open violence, as covert and indirect action on the part of the government against their religion. It is impossible to look at the facts upon which they rested such conclusions, and say that their fears were unreasonable, although every Englishman knows that the East India Company never intended to take any step, such as it *considered to be an unjust interference* with the popular religions of the native army or people. It is a delusion to suppose that the natives do not consider such questions, and it is sheer folly to deny that the whole population of India is on the *qui vive* as to what the government may next do which is substantially, although not ostensibly, an authoritative interference with their religion. Missionaries of the stamp to which a reply is here made affirm that intelligent natives, when conversed with on the subject, have expressed their approbation of the government building churches, and aiding Christian schools. No doubt they have, but the educated natives, as well as the masses, have what, in common parlance among themselves, is called "two faces"—one for the sahib, and one for their own people. After expressing in very flattering and flowery language their approval of such things, they would retire from the missionaries, and curse the faithlessness of the government which, by subterfuge and evasion, violated its faith as to its religious relation to the people.

"The more educated, the more bigoted," is an expression which of late has passed into a proverb in reference to both the Brahmins and Mussulmen, especially the former. This is true, because native education is essentially religious; its aim is to make better heathens or Mohammedans, in the sense of imbuing the pupils more thoroughly with the respective systems. Even the education of the English colleges makes them more bigoted, paradoxical as such an assertion may appear. Under the English collegiate and high school system the pupils frequently become infidel, but almost invariably affect or feel an attachment to the superstitions which they theoretically despise, resent any indignity to them, and any apparent attempt to subvert them. It is common for these native pupils to acquire in their classic reading a violent nationality, and a longing for the liberation of India from a foreign yoke. This feeling causes them to identify themselves with native customs, and to cherish hostility to every English innovation, except it contribute to their own advancement or enjoyment. This class of men inveigh against the employment of public money for Christian purposes of any kind, and regard the churches, the schools, and even the grants of land for such foreign religious institutions as injuries to their country. Articles have appeared in the native press ably adapted to fan the flame of Mussulman or Brahminical bigotry, which were written by nominal heathens, or Mussulmen who were well known to be infidels. It would not be difficult to account for these social, religious, and political phenomena on metaphysical principles generally recognised, but a statement of the facts is alone pertinent to our purpose; and if it be correct, then so long as the government makes grants from the taxes of India, under the designation of public works, for purposes really intended to promote the Christian religion, so long will discontent be disseminated, and disloyalty nurtured, in the halls of its own public seminaries.

In what direction Indian legislation has lately proceeded in connection with such matters let the directors declare for themselves. In their memorial, published at the beginning of 1858, they say :—"An act passed in 1840 gave effect to instructions issued by the home authorities in 1833, on the subject of pilgrim taxes, and the superintendence of native festivals. The instructions directed that the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits, and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rites, and festivals, and generally in the conduct of their interior economy, should cease, that the pilgrim tax should everywhere be abolished; and that in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, and their ceremonial observances, our native subjects should be left entirely to themselves. Property held in trust for religious uses of course cannot be diverted from them by any act of the government; but if such trusts are infringed, redress must be sought, as in all other cases, from the tribunals. In 1841 the home authorities sent out further instructions, that no troops or military bands of music be called out, and no salutes fired, in honour of native festivals; and all such acts have since been regarded as strictly prohibited. When any case of infringement of these principles is found to have been overlooked, it is, on being brought to notice, immediately corrected." The spirit of this statement can hardly be too highly commended.

A gentleman who is known to write in the interest of the East India Company states :—"The government have of late years systematically resumed all religious endowments, an extensive inquiry has been going on into all endowments, grants, and pensions; and in almost every one in which the continuance of religious endowments has been recommended by subordinate revenue authorities, backed by the board of revenue, the fiat of confiscation has been issued by the government." * This paragraph refers to the policy of the company towards the Brahmins and Mussulmen, not towards the Christian churches, which have in one form or other been hitherto endowed, and the endowment of which has been gradually becoming a heavier burthen upon the Indian exchequer, and a more prominent feature of our Indian policy.

We learn from Mr. Arthur Mills, M.P., who has recently compiled a statistical work on India, the following as to the government support of Christian schools. The endowment of churches is too well known to require notice here, and has already been referred to in the chapter on the religions of India :—Among the schools entitled, under existing government regulations, to grants in aid, are those established at various periods by Christian missionary societies. The total number of these schools scattered throughout the various districts of India, including vernacular and English elementary schools, both for boys and girls, was, in 1853, 1657 schools, containing 64,806 scholars of both sexes. These schools have been chiefly established by the twelve following societies, placed in the order of the commencement of their respective operations in India :—

1727. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
1793. The Baptist Missionary Society.
1805. The London Missionary Society.
1812. The American Board of Missions.
1814. The Wesleyan Missionary Society.
1815. The Church Missionary Society.
1822. The General Baptist Missions.
1830. The Established Church of Scotland.
1830. The Free Church of Scotland.
1830. The Basle Missionary Society.
1834. The American Presbyterian Mission.
1840. The American Baptist Mission.

Several of these societies receive funds only for secular purposes, as the communities they represent adopt "the voluntary prin-

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* Mr. F. H. Robinson.

ciple." The natives, however, do not enter into the distinction; where money is received from the state by a religious sect for any purpose, they consider that sect as a government agency.

In their efforts to be impartial, the company has granted lands for schools built by benevolent natives, male and female, where the character of the education administered is of very doubtful advantage, either to its recipients or to the government. Colleges for general education and for medical purposes, as well as schools of primary and superior instruction have been erected at the government expense, and with the most upright and zealous desires for the mental cultivation and general welfare of the people. Hospitals and other benevolent institutions have also been built, and the cost of their support is borne by the company. This class of public works consists chiefly of churches, schools, and hospitals; their expense is not generally brought to the books of the board of works, but accounted for under other heads, such as education, &c.

Public works refer more properly according to the usages of the company's government to canals, roads, railways, telegraphs, and certain mining and agricultural experiments which are brought under that head. This department, however, has lately undergone a new organization. In January, 1850, the home authorities* expressed dissatisfaction with the progress made in the prosecution of works of public utility in India, and the government of India was requested to review the state of things with the object of reform. The absence of unity in action, and the division of responsibility, appeared to the directors to be the causes of the slow and imperfect progress of matters in this direction. Orders were issued in the despatch of the directors, which led to the appointment of presidential commissions for investigation and report. The result was the formation in each presidency of a department of public works with a uniform constitution. A secretary for the board of works was added to the secretariat of the Indian government. An activity truly wonderful sprung forth from these measures. The military engineers supplied the chief demand for professional skill, and they were assisted by staffs of civil engineers sent out from England, and by non-commissioned officers of the engineer department of the queen's and company's armies. Colleges of civil engineers have been established at Roorkee, at the head of the Ganges, and at the capitals of the presidencies.

IRRIGATION.—It is common for declaimers against the East India Company to dwell much upon the remains of ancient tanks and other appliances to irrigation, which were constructed and maintained by the Mohammedan governments, but which the company allowed to go out of repair. There is much exaggeration and untruth in these attacks. Some of these ruined tanks had never been completed. Others were in ruins when the territory where they were placed came into the possession of the British. Often, when this was not the case, such was the disturbed state of the country, through the conflicts and ambition of the native states in the neighbourhood, that it was impossible to attend to any works of peace. When these great tanks were erected, in most cases funds were set apart to keep them in repair; but during the warlike struggles which passed in blood and desolation around, those funds were lost, and the government had no means of repairing dilapidated tanks of vast magnitude, unless by heavily rating a people already impoverished by external conflict or civil war. It is also a curious fact connected with native works of this kind, and which accounts for the number of them, so eloquently descanted upon by the orators and writers who agitate Indian grievances, that native monarchs would frequently begin new works where old ones adequate for the purpose previously existed, and both be allowed at last to go into decay for want of funds. The motive of the monarchs in thus wastefully proceeding was the vanity of connecting their names with the works begun by themselves, to accomplish which the older tanks were allowed to crumble away.

The directors have turned their attention to canals for irrigation. The Ganges Canal is the principal of these. It is not yet completed in all its branches, but will ultimately be eight hundred and ninety-eight miles and a half in length, and will, it is calculated, supply with moisture four millions, five hundred thousand acres. "It presents a system of irrigation unequalled in vastness throughout the world; while the dimensions of the main channel, and the stupendous works of masonry which occur in its course, more particularly in the section between Roorkee and Hurdwar, render the work eminently one of national distinction and honour."* The cost of this great construction was £1,500,000 up to the 1st of May, 1856, and it is estimated that the total cost will not be less than two millions. The irrigating utility of this stupendous work has only just been brought into operation; but it is computed by the directors that the annual value of the land at present watered by it ranges from £150,000, to £200,000, "and that when the canal is in full use, the value will reach the enormous sum of £7,000,000."* On the 30th of April, 1856, the canal had been carried so far that the water flowed continuously through four hundred and forty-nine miles and a half of the main trunk and terminal branches. The extent of main channels of distribution completed was four hundred and thirty-five and a half miles, and eight hundred and seventeen miles more were in active progress.† The canal has not yet been opened to the public for navigable purposes, but the government extensively uses it for the transport of materials. It closed its first year of operations 1855–6, with an aggregate revenue, from all sources, of rather more than sixty thousand rupees, having watered during the year, fifty-five thousand acres, and having placed beyond the risk of serious damage from drought, an area of cultivation of one hundred and sixty-six thousand acres, distributed among one thousand one hundred and thirty-four villages.‡

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* It is remarkable how much more frequently Indian reforms have originated at the India-house than in India, and in either than at the Board of Control.

* The lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces.

The Western and Eastern Jumna Canals were of ancient construction, but had fallen into disrepair and become useless to the country, until again brought into activity by the labours of the company's officers, at a sufficiently early date to admit of a full estimation of the benefits which the country has reaped from their restoration. The main line in the Western Jumna Canal is in length four hundred and forty-five miles. In the famine year, 1837–8, the gross value of crops saved by the water of this canal was estimated at £1,462,800; of which about one-tenth was paid to government as land and water rent; while the remainder supported, during a year of devastating famine in other districts, the inhabitants of nearly five hundred villages.

The works originally projected for the restoration of the Eastern Jumna Canal were completed in 1830; but considerable improvements have been effected since that date at a large expense. In 1853, the court of directors sanctioned an expenditure of £15,276 for improving this canal, so as to economize the water, facilitate its distribution, and correct the malarious state of the country on its banks. It is stated, that on the 1st of May, 1852, the clear profit to government on this canal had been £9759.*

The canal system is of great utility in the Punjaub. Canals are of two kinds, "inundative" and "permanent."† The first named are cut from the rivers which are empty in winter, but when spring comes, they are filled by the melting of the snow on the mountains, and the water as it rises, flows into the canals, and continues to supply them until far on in the autumn. Many of these have been repaired and rendered once more fit for purposes of irrigation, and estimates have been proposed by order of the commissioners of the Punjaub for the repair or reconstruction of others. The second class of canals named—the "permanent," are, however, most in favour with the commissioners, and as funds can be spared the construction of such is contemplated.

In 1849, the enlargement and extension of the Huslee Canal, stated to be capable of irrigating seventy thousand *begahs* of land, was sanctioned, and it is now in good working order. But this will ultimately be superseded by the Baree Doab Canal for irrigation and navigation. The length of this new work is about four hundred and fifty miles; the original estimate of the cost was £530,000; but more extensive works than were at first expected having been found necessary, and the rates of labour having proved much dearer than those calculated, the ultimate cost will fall little short of a million sterling. In May, 1856, more than three hundred and twenty-five miles had been excavated; and it was hoped that the canal would be opened in 1859. The expected return is twelve lacs of rupees, or £120,000 per annum.‡

The following were the opinions of Sir Henry Lawrence and his eminent colleagues, when in the commission of administration for the Punjaub, of the character of the country in reference to such works; and the passages indicate the duty of the British government in promoting irrigation:—"The capabilities of the Punjaub for canal irrigation are notorious. It is intersected by great rivers; it is bounded on two sides by hills, whence pour down countless rivulets; the general surface of the land slopes southward, with a considerable gradient. These facts at once proclaim it to be a country eminently adapted for canals. Nearly all the dynasties which have ruled over the five rivers have done something towards irrigation; nearly every district possesses flowing canals, or else the ruins of ancient water-courses. Many of the valleys and plains at the base of the Himalaya ranges are moistened by water-cuts conducted from the mountain torrents. The people, deeply sensible of the value of these works, mutually combine, with an unusual degree of harmony and public spirit, not only for the construction of reservoirs, but also for distribution of the water, and the regulation of the supply. In such cases, when the community displays so much aptitude for self-government, the board consider non-interference the best policy, while they would always be ready to afford any aid which might be solicited. The Mooltan canals are famous, and are the sole source of the fertility which surrounds that thriving mart. They were commenced by the Pathan governors. Having fallen out of repair during the interregnum of anarchy which ensued on the invasion of Runjeet Singh, they were improved and enlarged by the great Sawun Mull. All these canals are particularised in the revenue section. It will be sufficient to observe, that assistance for repairs and for other details of management is furnished when required, but that the general control is left in the hands of the farmers, who have generally shown themselves fully competent to the task. In the Pak Puttun district, which lies north of Mooltan, in the Baree Doab, an old canal, fifty-five miles long, is being re-opened by the district officer." During the administration of Sir Henry Lawrence, clumps of trees were planted at various "stations" on the navigable canals, and avenues of trees alongside them and the canals especially formed for purposes of irrigation. In the Punjaub, as well as in other parts of India, places of worship are built by the sides of rivers, or other bodies of water; these Sir Henry surrounded by groves, so as to encourage in every direction, where there was water to nourish the growth of trees, the increase of timber for firewood, and for manufacturing and building uses. This was a great want in the Punjaub, notwithstanding the existence of certain jungle districts in all the doabs. Thus the works for irrigation have subserved commerce, and promoted the domestic comfort of the people. The plans of improvement so wisely laid down, under the auspices of Sir Henry Lawrence in the first few years after the annexation of the Punjaub, were wisely followed up by his brother, Sir John, who, with equal zeal, industry, perseverance, and sagacity, pursued these projects of melioration and improvement, laying the foundation for the most prosperous fiscal and political condition which any country in Asia can exhibit, and with which few countries in Europe can compete. In Scinde careful regard has also been paid to irrigation. The fertility of that region is as dependant upon the rising of the Indus as that of Egypt is to the rising of the Nile. During the seasons of inundation the waters of the Indus are distributed over the face of the country by a network of canals. About £25,000 per annum is expended in cleansing these canals of the deposit left by the retiring waters of the river. The Begaree Canal, in Upper Scinde, is one of the most important bodies of artificial water in the province. This has lately been widened and deepened at a cost of £13,000. Expenses of this nature are nearly always sure to produce a large return in any well governed province; accordingly the outlay on the Begaree has resulted in a return of nearly £11,000 per annum, and the estimate of future proceeds exceeds that sum. The Foolalee Canal, another important artificial watercourse, has been lately improved and extended at a cost of more than £15,000; and in that case, as in those before mentioned, it is expected that the outlay will be followed by profitable results.

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* Colonel Baird Smith.
† Sir Proby Cautley.
‡ Colonel Baird Smith.

* *Memorial of the Court of Directors.*
† Sir Henry Lawrence.
‡ Punjaub Blue-book.

In connexion with irrigation, the tanks and *anicuts* of the Madras presidency deserve notice. The monsoon rains are preserved in large reservoirs against the necessities of the dry season. The anicuts are dams across the beds of rivers, by which the waters are retained at a level higher than that of the neighbouring country, so that, at the suitable time, it may be drained over the surface. The anicuts which are most notable are those on the Colaroone, Godavery, and Kistna. This description of dam and reservoir is not of British origin, for the anicut of the Colaroone is traceable to the second century of our era. About £80,000 has been expended on the Colaroone in repairing and renewing these works. Additional works for conveying irrigation over the districts of Tanjore, and portions of Trichinopoly and South Arcot, were constructed at a cost of about £100,000. The average quantity of land watered annually from the Colaroone and Cavery prior to 1836 is given at 630,613 acres. Since the improvements, the average (up to 1850) was 716,524 acres; being an increase of 85,911 acres. The annual increase of revenue has been about £44,000; and it may be assumed that the agricultural community have benefited to the extent of at least £66,000 per annum from the extension of the area of irrigation. It is further calculated that at least an equal amount is added to the value of the annual produce by the better irrigation of the lands which the waters already reached.

An expenditure of £47,575 for the construction of the Godavery anicut was sanctioned in 1846. It was then anticipated that the total cost, with compound interest at 5 per cent, would be recovered in ten years, and that thenceforward a clear profit would be returned of at least £9000 per annum. The work has, however, proved much more costly than was expected. Up to 1852 the amount expended was £130,000, and a further outlay of £110,000 was expected to be required, which, with £24,000 allowed for annual repairs during its completion, would raise the total expenditure on the works (including a system of roads and an important line of inland navigation) to £264,000. The amount expended has, it is stated, been already repaid by the increased receipts; and the Madras public works commissioners of 1852 (to one of whom, Colonel Cotton, the merit of this important work is in a great measure due) estimate that when the works shall be in full operation, the total increase of revenue will not be less than £300,000 per annum, while the gain to the people, by enabling them to cultivate the more valuable products, such as sugar-cane, rice, &c., instead of the ordinary dry crops, will exceed £3,000,000 per annum.

The anicut across the Kistna River was commenced in 1853. The original estimate of the cost was £155,000; but it is probable that this amount will be to some extent exceeded. It is intended, by 290 miles of irrigation channels distributed on both sides of the river, to supply water sufficient for 280,000 acres of rice cultivation, or 350,000 of rice, sugar, and possibly cotton, combined. The results anticipated are, an increase of £60,000 in the revenue of government, and a gain of £90,000 per annum to the agricultural community.

In 1854 sanction was given to an expenditure of £86,611 for the construction of an anicut across the Palar River, in North Arcot, and of the works subsidiary to it. The expected increase of revenue was stated at £18,470 per annum, or, deducting 5 per cent for repairs, £16,623.

Very large sums have in the aggregate been spent in the construction of new, and still more in the repair and restoration of old, tanks and wells, both in the Madras presidency and in the other parts of India which depend on works of that description for water supply. In some hill districts, ravines have been dammed up, and a head of water obtained for the irrigation of the adjacent valleys or plains. This was the plan of Colonel Dixon's irrigation works in Mhairwarra; and a system of such works had begun to be executed in Bundelcund, when the disturbances broke out.

A disposition has been of late shown to form companies for the execution of profitable works of irrigation, on certain conditions to be granted by the state.* In September, 1857, the directors resolved upon giving a guarantee of interest, in the same way as to railway companies.

Roads.—It is sometimes asserted that India had good roads under the Moguls, and that the government of the East India Company has neglected to keep them in repair, and has done very little to open up new ones. Both these statements are incorrect. The Mohammedan rulers of India made few roads, and none of any great magnitude. The plains of India are in the dry season so flat and smooth, that vehicles can be drawn over them, and armies, conveying their artillery, can march across them with ease. During the rainy season no commercial caravans attempt to traverse these inundated levels, and, except under rare necessities, no army attempts to march. The principal trunk roads in India now completed are as follow:—†

		MILES.	COST.
From	Calcutta to Peshawur	1423‡	£1,423,000
„	Calcutta to Bombay .	1002	500,000
„	Madras to Bangalore .	200	37,121
„	Bombay to Agra . . .	734	243,676
„	Rangoon to Prome . .	200	160,000

The first of these roads passes through most of the great cities in North-western India to Delhi. From Delhi it is continued to Lahore, and thence, in its most recent construction, to Peshawur. It is generally designated "the Grand Trunk Road." Generally the rivers are bridged in the direction the road takes; but the Ganges and the Soane are still crossed by ferries. The land communication between Calcutta and Western India is thus described in the memorial of improvements effected in India within the last thirty years:—"It is carried on by way of the grand trunk road to Benares, onward by Mirzapore and Jubbulpore to Nagpore, and thence to Bombay. The road beyond Mirzapore, under the name of the Great Deccan Road, was commenced thirty years ago, but was kept up only as a fair-weather road till within the last few years, when arrangements were made for its being thoroughly raised, metalled, and bridged. The distance from Mirzapore to Nagpore or Kamptee is nearly four hundred miles. Estimates amounting to £11,659 were sanctioned by the court of directors, in 1856, for bridging the portion of road between Mirzapore and Jubbulpore, which had been already metalled; £25,084 were also sanctioned for raising and metalling the portion between Jubbulpore and Kamptee; and measures were further authorised to bridge this portion of the road."

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* *Memorial of Improvements in India.*

† Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P.

‡ The directors' memorial represents the distance as fifteen hundred miles.

The Dacca and Chittagong road is not yet completed; and from Arracan into Pegu Lieutenant Furlong has undertaken to form a road across the mountains by Toungroop. A road from Calcutta to Jessore (the line of communication with Assam and Birmah) has been sanctioned, on an estimate of £41,720. A road also has been cut from Martaban to Toungoo, *viâ* Sitong. The sea has been mainly relied upon for communication between Calcutta and Madras; but roads are now being made with every prospect of speedily opening up a complete land communication.

Besides the great lines of communication above enumerated, a multitude of shorter lines have been constructed at the entire cost of government, in Bengal, the north-western provinces, and the Punjaub, while considerable sums have annually been expended in the two former divisions of territory from local funds. Among the roads either completed or under construction at the expense of government, is one from a point on the East India Railway to Darjeeling (roughly estimated at about £200,000); another from Doobee, on the grand trunk road, to Patna (cost, £115,000); numerous roads in the Saugor and Nerbuddah territories; and a road from the plains to Simla and the other hill stations, continued through the mountains to Chini in Thibet. The district roads were, until within the last few years, maintained from the profits of the ferries kept up by government; but there are now also appropriated to this purpose, in Bengal, the surplus tolls on the Nuddea rivers and the Calcutta canals, amounting altogether to £50,000, and the surplus proceeds of various local funds established for other purposes. In the north-western provinces, one per cent. on the land revenue is contributed in equal portions by the government and by the landowners, for the purpose of district roads, the landowners being thus freed from the obligation, which previously lay on them, of keeping in repair the public roads which passed through their lands. In these provinces, as in Bengal, the ferry funds are appropriated to district roads, and they amount to about £20,000.*

Independent of the canal communications in the Madras presidency, which are important, great efforts have been made within the last ten years to open up good roads. Besides the trunk line to Bangalore, there has been also constructed the southern road to Trichinopoly, 205 miles in length; the northern road to the Bengal frontier, with a branch to Cuddapah, 758 miles; and the Sumpajee Ghaut road, from the western frontier of Mysore to Matgalore, 105 miles.

According to statistical reports made by the directors, the made roads in the Bombay presidency, twenty-five years ago, were almost entirely limited to the presidency town and its immediate neighbourhood; the road from Bombay (or rather Panwell, on the other side of the harbour) to Poonah being the only road to a distant place on which any considerable expenditure had taken place. This road has since been greatly improved, and supplied with bridges. The Bhore Ghaut, or pass, on this road, formerly accessible only to bullocks, and coolies, or porters, had in 1830, at an expense of about £13,000, been made easy for carriages. The Thull Ghaut, on the Bombay and Agra road, has since been similarly improved; and roads over the Khoonda Ghaut, the Tulkut Ghaut, and the Koomtudee Ghaut, to the southward, have since been put under construction, to facilitate the communications between the coast and the interior of the country. The portion of the Agra and Bombay road, within the jurisdiction of the Bombay government, is two hundred and seventy miles in length. The expenditure on it had amounted, in 1848, to £75,390; and since that time a considerable outlay has taken place, especially on the improvement of the Thull Ghaut and the road below it. A system of roads for Scinde, at an estimated cost of from £20,000 to £30,000, received the sanction of the home authorities in 1854, and is in progress. In the Punjaub, where the greatest improvements in every respect have been brought to pass, roads have received the constant attention of the commissioners. Immediately upon the accession of the territory, the commissioners began the work, and have prosecuted it with the utmost zeal. The grand trunk from Lahore to Peshawur, a distance of two hundred and seventy-five miles, forms a part of the grand Indian trunk from Calcutta to Peshawur. This road is completely metalled and bridged throughout, from its entrance to the Punjaub to Peshawur, at a cost of £154,848. Roads from Jullundur to Lahore, and from Lahore to Mooltan, have been also undertaken.

The roads of the Punjaub were classified by Sir Henry Lawrence under the heads of military and commercial, and the latter as for external and for internal commerce. In such a classification the primary object of the road was kept in view, as of course military roads could be used for commercial purposes. Thus the grand trunk road from Lahore to Peshawur is designated under the military class, because, the army being massed along that line, its primary object was for military convenience; it is, however, an important highway of commerce. In reference to roads most important in a military point of view, the following occurs in one of the recent Punjaub blue-books:—"The construction of the grand trunk road from the Beas to Lahore, and the earthen and masonry viaducts crossing the drainage courses of the Baree Doab, have been completed. A straight line of road has been carried from Umritsir to the new cantonment of Sealkote, which is further connected with the Peshawur road by a branch road to Wuzeerabad. The military and commercial roads from Lahore to Mooltan, and from Lahore to Ferozepore, have been opened. An important military line, passing through a very mountainous and rugged track, from Attock to Kalabagh, *viâ* Rawul Pindee, has also been opened, to connect the frontier force stations with the northern cantonments of the regular army. The difficult road leading through the Kohat passes into the Peshawur valley has also been improved."

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* *Memorandum of Improvements in the Administration of India.*

Lines of road for the external commerce of the Punjaub were planned and put in progress by Sir Henry, and in some cases completed by Sir John, who, as Mr. John Lawrence, assisted his brother in the commission of the "country of the five rivers." Two great lines were planned by Sir Henry—one to connect Dera Ismail Khan with Lahore, and another to start from the same point, and to run across the Scinde Saugor Doab, and thence across the Baree Doab to Ullohur, to meet the Delhi road, the internal lines carrying the traffic down to Mooltan. The importance of these lines will be obvious, from a consideration of the commercial position of the Punjaub, which is a thoroughfare through which the commerce of Central Asia passes to the plains of India, and to Scinde and Bombay. The caravans which travel from Ghuznee to Delhi (which were once the rival and the sister capitals of the Mohammedan empire) were forced to follow a very difficult as well as circuitous route. Emerging near Dera Ismail Khan from the Submanee passes, they winded their weary way to Mooltan, through the wastes of the Scinde Saugor Doab, and then turned northward to Lahore, thence proceeding to Ferozepore or Loodiana, or else they traversed Bhawulpore and other independent territories from Mooltan, paying heavy transit duties. The plans of Sir Henry Lawrence and his officers met these difficulties, and opened up feasible ways for the "external commerce" of the country. The "internal communications" of the territory whose affairs they so judiciously administered, were also provided for by those two gifted brothers. Their plans comprehended the connection of Mooltan with Jhelum by a line along the bank of the river of that name and Wuzeerabad, and Sealkote by a line along the banks of the Chenab, passing by Jhung. These were the first improvements, and they were followed well up by others.

In territory such as the Punjaub, making roads is not the only matter to be considered when planning lines of communication. Wells and other accommodation for travellers have been provided along these commercial lines. Without them, the roads would be useless. There are scarcely any important lines which do not, during part of their course, traverse arid and desolate tracts. Literally a fleet of ferry-boats were built, to facilitate the passage of the rivers, and, with a prompt and ready forethought, mooring chains and anchors were provided to prevent accidents. These ferry-boats bridged the rivers in winter by the assistance of these chains and anchors, while in the summer they bore passengers across for a small toll. Iron pontoon bridges were recommended by the commissioners as applicable, not only to the Punjaub, but to India generally; but the home government, upon consideration, did not approve of the extensive adoption of these media of passage.

It would be unjust in a popular history which comprehends the men and the measures of our times, not to notice the names of the persons to whose talents the detail of the stupendous undertakings in the Punjaub are to be attributed, and in some cases the original suggestions. The commissioners have themselves made the following handsome acknowledgment of the services of the officers by whose assistance and personal superintendence so many important works were brought to a happy termination:—"For the energetic and able manner in which these important works have been executed, as well as for the zealous co-operation in all engineering and military questions, the board are indebted to Lieutenant-colonel Napier, who has spared neither time, health, nor convenience, in the duties entrusted to him. For these valuable services the board cannot too warmly express their thanks. Colonel Napier has brought to the favourable notice of the board the zealous assistance he has derived from his assistants generally, and especially the valuable services of Lieutenant Taylor, in charge of the Lahore and Peshawur road; Lieutenant Dyas, in charge of the great canal; Lieutenant Anderson, of the Madras engineers, who has examined the Mooltan canals; Major Longden, her majesty's 10th regiment, in charge of the Huslee Canal; the late Lieutenant Paton and Lieutenant Crofton, both of the engineers, and employed on the new canal; and Lieutenant Oliphant, of the engineers, in charge of a division of the Peshawur road; and Lieutenant Lamb, 18th native infantry."

Looking at the general operations throughout India during the last ten years, in the completion of good roads for caravans and wheeled carriages, the results are truly wonderful; and the programme of operations of a similar nature, intended for immediate commencement, had not the mutiny deranged for a time the plans of the directors, was such as deserved the gratitude of India and of England.

RAILWAYS.—This is a subject to which the attention of the English public is especially directed. It is impossible to place the progress of railways before our readers in a more condensed form than in the report of the directors themselves. It is, however, to be observed, that the railways of India are constructed by private capital; the land, and a guarantee for interest, are given by the company. Four thousand one hundred and fifty-eight miles of railway have been sanctioned, and measures are being taken for their construction by various companies, viz.:—

By the East Indian Railway Company—from Calcutta to Delhi, with branches from Burdwan to Raneegunge, and from Mirzapore to Jubbulpore, 1400 miles.

By the Eastern Bengal Railway Company—*from Calcutta to the Ganges at Koostree, near Pubnah (130 miles), being the first* section of a line to Dacca, with a branch to Jessore; which, when completed, will form the basis of a system of railways for Eastern Bengal.

By the Madras Company—from Madras to the western coast at Beypore, 430 miles; and from Madras, *vid* Cuddapah and Bellary, to meet a line from Bombay at or near the river Kistna, 310 miles.

By the Great Indian Peninsula Company—from Bombay to Callian, thirty-three miles, with extensions, north-east to Jubbulpore, to meet the line from Mirzapore, with a branch to Oomrawuttee and Nagpore, 818 miles, and south-east, *viâ* Poonah and Sholapore—to the Kistna River, to meet the line from Madras, 357 miles.

By the Scinde and Punjaub Company—from Kurrachee to a point in the Indus, at or near to Kotree, 120 miles; and from Mooltan to Lahore and Umritsir, in the Punjaub, 230 miles.

By the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Company—from Bombay to Surat, Baroda, and Ahmedabad, 330 miles.

The estimated outlay required to complete the several lines sanctioned is £34,231,000; and the total amount of capital at present issued by the sanction of the East India Company is £22,814,000. In addition to this assistance by way of guarantee, the land for the railways (including compensation for all buildings thereon), and for their termini, has been given by government. The value of this may be estimated at more than £1,000,000 for the above extent of line. The lines in course of construction have been chosen for commercial quite as much as for military and political objects. In every case the existing channels of trade have been followed. The chief cotton-producing districts are provided with railway accommodation; and in some instances,—such as the railway which connects the great cotton-field of Berar with Bombay, and the railway through Surat and Gujerat,—the principal object is to develop the agricultural resources of those districts, and to bring their produce into communication with the sea. At present only a small section is open in each presidency, making about 400 miles in all; but 3600 more are being constructed almost simultaneously. The works for the trunk lines above described have been made suitable for locomotive engines, and are of a solid and permanent character, so that an uninterrupted communication will be maintained throughout the year. The mileage cost of the lines which have been completed has been:—*East Indian*—Calcutta to Raneegunge, 121 miles (including double line to Burdwan, and terminal stations), about £12,000 per mile. *Madras*—Madras to Arcot, sixty-five miles, about £5500 per mile. The data in respect to the lines now open in the Bombay presidency, constructed by the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company, are not sufficiently complete to enable the actual mileage cost to be ascertained.

It is, perhaps, premature to judge of the success of Indian railways as commercial undertakings; but the line from Calcutta to Raneegunge is already realising a profit of nearly seven per cent., being two per cent. beyond the guaranteed rate of interest.

In addition to the lines specified above, the court have sanctioned the construction of one by the Calcutta and South Eastern Railway Company, from Calcutta to the Mutlah River, upon the same terms as to the provision of land, but without any guarantee of interest.

Electric Telegraphs.—Even more important as a means of communication than railways, is the electric telegraph; the use of which, at the commencement of the late disturbances, may be said with scarcely any exaggeration to have saved our empire. Having already, in a wonderfully short space of time, connected the seats of the different governments by lines of telegraph upwards of three thousand miles in length, the government of India is now engaged in establishing additional lines of about the same extent, by which the most important places on the line of route will be brought into communication with each other. The lines established, and in course of construction, are:—

1st. From Calcutta, *viâ* Benares, Cawnpore, Agra, Meerut, Delhi, Umritsir, and Lahore, to Peshawur; with a branch to Lucknow.

2nd. From Bombay to Agra, *viâ* Indore and Gwalior.

3rd. From Bombay to Madras, *viâ* Sattara, Bellary, and Bangalore.

4th. From Bombay, along the coast, by Vingorla and Mangalore, to Cannanore.

5th. From Bangalore to Ootacamund and Mahableshwar.

6th. From Benares, through the centre of the peninsula, by Mirzapore, Jubbulpore, Nagpore, and Hyderabad, to Bellary.

7th. From Bombay, by Surat and Baroda, to Kurrachee.

8th. From Kurrachee, by Hyderabad (Scinde) and Mooltan, to Lahore.

9th. From Calcutta, by Dacca, Akyab, and Prome, to Pegu and Rangoon.

10th. From Calcutta to Madras, by the coast; and—

11th. From Madras, along the coast, by Pondicherry, Tranquebar, and Ramnad, to Ceylon.

The lines already established have cost, upon an average, about £50 per mile. Besides their inappreciable value to the government for political and military purposes, they are freely used by the mercantile community. Though the charges are very moderate, the revenue, in the first year of working the lines, exceeded the expenses, and since then the receipts have been steadily increasing.

During the sepoy rebellion, the utility of the electric telegraph was tested; its existence at that period was of more importance than the presence in India of 10,000 additional soldiers.

Hospitals and Dispensaries.—The government has done much to bring the instrumentalities of medical relief within reach of the people everywhere. The regulations in practice in reference to this provide an hospital or dispensary in every town where the inhabitants will bear a certain proportion of the expense.

Libraries.—The establishment of public libraries in the provincial towns will appear to most Europeans as an effort to benefit the people in a manner they are not prepared to appreciate. This plan of extending civilization in India has been going forward for a considerable time, but, notwithstanding the sanguine opinions and more sanguine expectations of many of the friends of India, no great results have been procured.

In the return made to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated the 7th of August, 1857, the budgets of public works in India for the years 1853-4, 1854-5, 1855-6, have been presented; also an estimate for 1856-7. This return embraces churches, public offices, jails, and miscellaneous buildings and works; embankments, roads and bridges, lighthouses, dockyards and harbours, inland navigation, irrigation works, railroads, charges for government officers, and for land supplied to the private companies working under government guarantee; electric telegraph, military, and certain unclassified works. The returns comprise the expenditure for Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the north-western provinces, the Punjaub, and the Pegu and Straits settlements.

For the year 1856-7, the amounts authorised in statement No. 1, for public works in the departments of military, public, judicial, ecclesiastical, educational, revenue (general), revenue (irrigation), marine, political, were for Bengal—rupees—7.09.492; Madras, 21.58.233; Bombay, 6.70.047; the north-west provinces, 6.30.892; the Punjaub, 7.32.644; the Straits settlements, 40.000; Pegu, 1.61.619; Tenesserim and Martaban provinces, 7.600; Hyderabad, 4.938: making a total expenditure of 51.18.665. This outlay was sanctioned by the government of India. Under statement No. 1 there is a budget of expenditure recommended to the court of directors exclusive of the foregoing, amounting to 17.54.849.

Statement No. 2, gives the expenditure on all works previously sanctioned, and on new sanctions by local governments, the amount of which is 1.64.34.334. Under statement

No. 2 for repairs the total is 52.08.257. The total amount authorised for the year 1856-7 was 2.20.15.420. Under orders of the 17th of October, 1856, all civil, military, and marine buildings intended exclusively for the use of the government and its establishments, and works not coming within the term works of public improvement, can be proceeded with without other limitation than that of the sanctioned estimates; but the expenditure on works of public improvement—such as works of irrigation, canals, roads, bridges, and harbours—is restricted to one crore of rupees, the sum allotted by the honourable the court of directors, for such works during the official year 1856-7. This sum has been divided among the several local governments and administrations in the following proportions:—To Bengal, twelve lacs; Madras, twenty-two lacs; Bombay and Scinde, fourteen lacs; the north-western provinces, fifteen lacs; the Punjaub, twenty-one lacs; Oude, five lacs; Pegu, four and a half lacs; Tenesserim and Martaban provinces, half a lac; Hyderabad, three lacs; Nagpore, two and a quarter lacs; Straits settlements three quarters of a lac. By this report, made from the India-house at the close of 1857, the most recent expenditure on public works is presented.

Under the head of public works certain expenditure is classed, which would seem more properly to be represented as bounty or encouragement to agriculture and commerce. Thus the growth of cotton has received the patronage of the company. In 1840 ten experienced cotton-planters from the United States were engaged to conduct certain experiments in the cultivation of the finer description of cotton. The climate proved unsuitable where most of the trials were made, but in parts of South-western India the experiments were successful, and a large cultivation of American cotton is now being conducted there. These districts are near the coast, and have roads. Measures are being taken to *facilitate the transport of cotton from the places where its culture is most successfully* carried on. The servants of the East India Company, especially their medical servants, have of late years given much attention to climatology, and more especially in its relation to vegetable productions, from which the cotton cultivation has derived much benefit. The East India Company, in 1849, offered a reward of 5000 rupees for an improved cotton-cleaning machine, and great efforts in the cleaning department have been made—an essential matter to the improvement of Indian cotton. The East India Company have also expended money upon the culture of such fibrous plants as might be made sources of profitable commerce. The results of the experiments made in this department have surprised the company, and all interested in the enterprise.

In previous chapters notice was taken of the encouragement given by the government to the cultivation of tea; it is therefore unnecessary in this place to express more upon the subject, than that considerable hill tracts, suitable to its culture, have been set apart by the company in favour of the cultivators. The government has also thought it expedient to patronise the working of iron ore. This subject seems first to have seriously engaged the attention of the court of directors so recently as 1850; but in 1854 extensive inquiries and investigations were instituted, which issued in important results. In 1855 a report was made to the public-works department by Lieutenant-colonel Godwin, chief engineer of the lower provinces of Bengal, which was highly encouraging as to the prospects of iron mines being worked, and iron extensively manufactured, in India. In 1856 experiments were made, under the company's auspices, in the manufacture of superior iron with some success.

Of course a considerable outlay in connection with public works will, by the necessities of the country, be expended on barracks and jails. The latter appear to be admirably managed and conducted, especially in the Punjaub. The barrack department is probably worse conducted than any other. The European soldiers are frequently quartered in unhealthy situations, and the barrack accommodation afforded to them is inadequate; the late Sir Charles Napier, a friend of the soldier, repeatedly expressed his disapprobation, and even indignation, at this circumstance. The vast impulse which has been given to public works in India, may be judged by the facts, that one hundred thousand tons of railway materials, and a million of sleepers, were landed at Bombay alone in 1856-7. In March and April, 1857, twenty thousand tons of castings for the Vedar Water-works were landed in that port. During the same time the imports of iron were represented by the Bombay papers to be seven thousand tons. In 1856 the great Indian Peninsula Railway imported thirteen thousand tons of iron. The *Queen Victoria* steamer was announced by a publication of Bombay, in April, 1857, as arriving with eighty tons of locomotives for the great Indian Peninsula Railway, and the Vedar Water-works.

The improvement and enlargement of docks and harbours claim some especial notice. Taken in connection with the recent efforts for cultivating the lands lying seaward, more immediately those set apart for cotton culture, and the lines of road opened up from the great seaports into the interior, this subject assumes much importance. The development of internal communications, and external outlets, have in all civilized lands kept pace. This is not only true of countries possessing a good seaboard, but of such as, like the Punjaub, are dependant upon a river navigation through other countries for communication with the sea: the remark is even applicable to nations that are completely inland, for their roads and river means of internal intercourse will always converge upon those points which are thoroughfares into neighbouring states. Bombay, notwithstanding its vastly increasing commerce and its important relative position, has been left deficient in docks or any similar provision. The number of square-rigged vessels that entered the Bombay port during the year 1855, was 311, besides 218 steamers, with an aggregate tonnage of 279,805. The trade of the port for 1854-5, is stated to have been 735,562½ tons, and to have increased in the following year to 912,140½ tons. For this large commerce no adequate accommodation has yet been provided. The officiating commissioner of customs for salt and opium gave the following evidence upon the cost of loading and unloading vessels in the port of Bombay:—"On making inquiries from the several merchants, I still experienced great difficulty in procuring the required information, as there is no uniform system or practice adopted by them. One firm, perhaps, contracts for boat hire alone; another contracts for the goods being discharged from the ship, and landed on the wharf; while another, perhaps, contracts for the removal of the goods from a ship to the depositing of them in the merchant's warehouses, including the cost of guarding them, &c. Petty pilferage and damage from wet during the monsoon, are among the casualties to which goods thus treated are said to be exposed. The petty pilferage is stated to have been proved, a few years since, to amount to 1,600,000 rupees."

The following testimony to the difficulties of transacting the enormously increasing business of the port, and the necessities for more suitable accommodation for shipping, was borne by one well competent to pronounce an opinion:—"The average expense of bringing goods from a ship's side and landing on the wharf, is one or two rupees per ton, and for heavy machinery two rupees per ton; but the latter is now a losing rate, because the quantity to be landed exceeds the capabilities of the boats, and of room for their discharge, and boat-hire has risen 75 per cent. within the last six months. The collector of customs has found it necessary to threaten a withdrawal of their licenses from all boats above sixteen tons, on account of the large space they occupy alongside the wharf."*

The attention of the government has been directed to this state of things, and on the 17th of March, 1855, a committee was appointed to determine a locality for the docks. Out of this investigation proposals arose for two schemes, one of which has the sanction of government; the other is deemed by the commercial community the more feasible, although neither is generally considered at all adequate. The whole community of Bombay is alive to the necessity; and the government was giving its most earnest attention to the subject, when the breaking out of the mutiny stopped short the progress of improvements in so many respects. In the meantime, important publications are guiding and forming public opinion.†

On a former page a description was given of the port of Kurrachee, and its importance in relation to all North-western and Western India, and in its relation to the overland route. In connection with the schemes for the Scinde and Punjaub Railway, and the improvement of the navigation of the Indus, this port is receiving such improvements as will develop all the advantages of its position. Although Calcutta possesses so many circumstances in its favour, especially in connection with the seat of government, even there it has been deemed requisite to improve the facilities afforded to commerce in the condition of the port. At Madras the unfavourable nature of the locality seems to bid defiance to any very decided improvement; but the enterprise which marks the proceedings of the board of works, inspires hope that something will be done to abate the dangers to which shipping, and passengers in landing, are now exposed. When harbours, docks, and wharves have partaken of the attention and outlay of the government, as roads, rivers, and irrigation have done, the prosperity of India will be much promoted.

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* Bombay Quarterly Review.

† *Papers relating to a Project for Wet and Dry Docks in the Harbour of Bombay*, printed for Government at the Bombay Education Society's Press, 1856; *On Docks and Wharves for Bombay; Proceedings of the Bombay Mechanics' Institution*, session 1857.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE (*Continued*).

THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT.

THE army by which the territory of British India is garrisoned and defended, and by which wars have been conducted against other powers, has consisted of three different elements—namely, queen's troops, company's troops, and contingents. The queen's troops are conveyed to India at the expense of the company, and when there are allowed extra pay at its cost. Their number is dependant upon circumstances, but has generally varied from eighteen to twenty-two thousand men. It has been shown in the sketch afforded of the different acts of the imperial parliament affecting the constitution of the Indian government, that the commander-in-chief of the queen's forces in India is *ex officio* commander-in-chief of the company's forces, and that each presidential commander-in-chief of the queen's forces is also commander-in-chief of the company's forces within that presidency. The officers of the company's army are appointed by the directors. The contingents are native troops, subjects of native princes, and placed at the command of the company under certain treaties. In the company's own army there are two distinct classes of troops—European and native. The total number of the East India Company's native forces of all arms, including commissioned and non-commissioned native officers and men, up to the latest period received before the recent revolt, was as follows:—

Engineers.—Native commissioned and non-commissioned, rank and file	3,158
Artillery.[*]—Horse	1,073
„ Foot	7,676
Cavalry.[†]—Regular and irregular	26,129
Infantry.[‡]—Regular and irregular	189,008
Veterans.—Native officers and men	3,374
Native Medical Establishment	858
Total	231,276

Giving a total number of 269 native regiments of all arms, and of 231,276 native officers and men. A large portion of this force, comprising about one-half of the whole, has, by mutiny and disarmament, ceased to exist, leaving a total number of native forces of all arms practically available of about 120,000 men.

The total number of the East India Company's European forces now in India (not deducting losses arising out of the recent revolt, of which no complete authentic return has been received) is as follows, and presents a total of 22,047 European officers and men:

Engineers.—European officers and men	434
Artillery.—Horse and foot, European officers and men (of which there are twelve battalions of European foot)	6,585
Cavalry.—European officers and men	509
Infantry.— „ „	13,032
Veterans.— „ „	436
Medical Establishment.—Europeans, including European warrant officers	1,051
Total	22,047

The total number of queen's troops now (April, 1858) in India amounts to about 70,000 men.

The contingent troops of the native states commanded by British officers, and bound under treaties to serve the British government, amounted, before the mutiny of 1857, to about 32,000,[*] viz.:—

Hyderabad (the Nizam's) auxiliary force	8,094
* Gwalior (Scindiah's contingent)	8,401
* Kotah contingent	1,148
Mysore horse (officered by natives)	4,000
Gujerat (Guicowar's) contingent	3,756
* Bhopal contingent	829
* Malwa united contingent	1,617
Malwa Bheel corps	648
* Joudpore legion	1,246
Meywar Bheel corps	1,054
Colapore local horse	907
Sawunt Warce local corps	611
Total	32,311

Holkar is bound by treaty to furnish a contingent of a thousand horse, but these troops are not commanded by British officers.

Besides these regular contingents, bodies of troops have been sent in aid of the company's forces by native princes. Before Holkar was under any treaty his armies were auxiliaries. The same was the case with the kings of Oude; and now Jhung Bahadoor, the Rajah of Nepaul, is aiding the company in a form and to an extent not provided for by treaty.

The modes of admission to the company's military service are by direct appointment, and through the company's military seminary at Addiscombe, in the county of Surrey. The direct appointments are chiefly to the cavalry, but such are also made to the infantry. The cadets are passed through the cadet-office of the India-house, a department under the able direction of John Hollyer, Esq., and enter the seminary, where they study for two years, keeping four terms. The age of admission is from fourteen to eighteen, but gentlemen may be candidates for direct appointments up to the age of twenty-two. The cadets at Addiscombe pay the company £100 a year each for the expenses of their education and maintenance. The additional expenses of each student are hardly met by an addition of £50 per year. The course of study is admirable. The professors are men of the highest attainments, and "apt to teach." The examinations are conducted with impartiality, and the degree of attainment developed by them is truly astonishing. The author of this History has attended examinations, and inspected, with surprise and pleasure, the military drawings and modellings of fortifications exhibited, which displayed great ability and evidence of study on the part of the pupils. Generally, on these occasions, the chairman of the court of directors presides, and of late years the Archbishop of Canterbury has frequently addressed the students. Rewards are liberally bestowed. The Pollock medal and sword are prizes eagerly contended for; and the competition is keen, victory or defeat being almost always generously and nobly borne. The friends and relatives of the pupils, and a large concourse of privileged spectators, chiefly consisting of superior officers, or civil servants of the company, are present on these occasions. The presence of men of genius, of military or legislative renown, whose names are prominent in the history of our country, is a great stimulus to the efforts of the students, although it not unfrequently represses the energy of the more shy and nervous, who may, nevertheless, be among the most highly gifted. It is an affecting sight to witness a mere youth, clad in the simple uniform of the company's cadets, retiring from the place of examination, bearing swords, medals, and other badges of honour, amidst the generous cheers of his unsuccessful competitors, and the plaudits of an auditory comprising the most famous men of the day. The author has seen more than one fine youth, who had gone through his examinations with unflinching self-possession in the face of the crowd of honoured or titled persons before him, completely subdued by his emotions in the moment of success. Whatever objections may be made to these examinations in some respects, the advantages far more than compensate them, and the scenes presented on such occasions are likely to live for ever in the memories of those young soldiers, and to prove, far off from their country, a stimulus to exertion and courage on the field of their future trials and glory. Distinguished officers of the company, whose names are known throughout all the nations of civilized man, and throughout every uncivilized nook of Southern and Central Asia, have declared to the author that they attributed to these occasions much of the stimulus which enkindled the passion for glory within them, and that these scenes remained vividly impressed upon their hearts amidst the labours, perils, and grave responsibilities of Indian warfare and Asiatic life The most proficient students are nominated to the department of engineers, and, after having left Addiscombe, proceed to Chatham for a further course of study of one year, after which they proceed to India as officers of engineers. While at Chatham, however, they draw pay from the company. The second class of proficients are nominated to the artillery, and proceed, on leaving Addiscombe, direct to India. Such as do not succeed in attaining a position in either of the first two classes, or as do not choose the engineer or artillery services, are designated to the infantry. The number of students in May, 1858, was a hundred and fifty.

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[*] The horse artillery consists of five brigades, and the foot of eighteen battalions.

[†] The cavalry is divided into fifty regiments.

[‡] The infantry comprises a hundred and ninety-six regiments

[*] The contingents which have mutinied are marked with an asterisk.

The general character of the officers of the East India Company's army has equalled, if it has not surpassed, that of the officers of any other. This will especially hold good of those who have been educated at Addiscombe.

The engineers have been probably the most intelligent body of officers the world has ever seen. They all know that upon real service depends promotion, honour, and emolument, and that these advantages are sure to follow good service. A large number of this class of officers are appointed ultimately to the civil service, where, as civil administrators and civil engineers, they can be of even more use—in time of peace, at all events—than in the military department. Accustomed at Addiscombe and Chatham to habits of study, and to regard military life from an intellectual and professional point of view, rather than from one merely social, they go forth to their duties earnest and thoughtful as well as brave soldiers, and hence much of the distinction to which they have attained both as soldiers and men of science, and the reputation they have won for their country and for the particular army in which they serve. It is impossible for any one to observe the class of young men who gain at Addiscombe the appointments to the engineer service, and not predicate of them future eminence, not only in the personal distinctions to be won, but the national services to be rendered.

The artillery of the East India Company has also attained a high character for efficiency in the field. Many of its officers have studied for the engineer department, but, from health failing them, domestic troubles, slip of memory under examination, some concession to the temptations so potent with the young, or change of purpose, they have entered the artillery service instead. During the various wars in the East, when the officers of the royal artillery have served with them, they have borne a high testimony to the superior skill and soldier-like deportment and spirit of the company's artillery officers. The following extract from a letter by Sir Charles Napier to an officer of the Bengal artillery, who wrote to him from Kumaon, on the borders of Nepaul, offering certain suggestions, will show the opinion which that celebrated officer entertained of the Indian artillery service :—

> *Simla, November 5th*, 1846.
>
> I approve much your report on the state of defences in Kumaon; and though Jhung Bahadoor has told my wife in London that he loves me more than any man living, still, as lovers sometimes quarrel, I should like to be prepared for him, and your suggestions shall be pressed on the attention of government.
>
> What you say about the deficiency and frequent change of officers with the reserve companies of artillery is but too true. I did intend, had I been able, to reform the whole system; but I am of no use—no more power have I than a lance-corporal. I believe, however, I have succeeded in moving the head-quarters of your regiment into these provinces, either to Delhi or Meerut.
>
> I think very highly of your officers generally, but especially of the young officers. When I have found fault, I have invariably traced it to the "system," and I have vainly represented this; but pray understand that in condemning the system of the Bengal army I always say this—that the artillery I believe to be, at this moment, the first in the world.

Notwithstanding the superior education and attainments of the company's officers, defects have crept into the military system of the company which need correction, and which no doubt conduced to the unfortunate sepoy revolt of 1857. Some of those evils depend upon the general management of the army; some upon the infantry regimental system; others upon the character of the men enlisted in the native armies: and all these causes combined operate unfavourably on the efficiency of the whole service. As to the general management of the army, the chief faults appear to be the great draft of officers from the military to the civil service: not that this in itself would prove an evil, if officers, in sufficient numbers for the proper discharge of regimental service, were appointed to supply the places of those withdrawn, although even then some inconvenience would ensue, as the more intelligent and talented men are those drafted off to staff, civil, civil engineering, and political appointments. Out of this circumstance arises an incompetence on the part of regimental officers. The native officers become the instructors of their European superiors—superiors only in rank and the indomitable spirit which belongs to the British. The more intelligent officers—such as were best acquainted with the native languages—being so frequently withdrawn from regimental service, those who remained were less acquainted with the men, and with the character of the classes of natives from which the recruits were generally drawn; they were also less competent to form acquaintance with them from lingual deficiency and short residence in the country. In the Bengal army more particularly these causes operated—at all events, the relaxation of discipline was most marked in that, although, from the character of the soldiery, it required more careful attention than the armies of the other presidencies. The men were chiefly recruited in Oude, and in the upper provinces, and consisted of high caste Mohammedans and Brahmins. As a consequence, it was difficult to assign to them any duty the performance of which did not interfere with their caste; and they were far more afraid of infringing upon its obligations than upon those of the articles of war. Striking illustrations of the inconvenience of the high caste constitution of the native army, especially of Bengal, have occurred when operations at sea, or for the execution of which sea voyages were necessary, were required. On some occasions the Bengal regiments have landed in China half-starved, because the men would eat nothing cooked at sea, preferring to sustain themselves on bran and water. When, in 1858, a Bengal regiment landed in China, for service at Canton, they would not prepare their own quarters, because it was contrary to caste, and Chinese coolies had to be employed as their servants. Operations out of India were so distasteful to the native army of Bengal on this account, that there were generally symptoms of mutiny whenever they were ordered beyond the confines of India. When operating with the Bombay army in Scinde, their caste prejudices nearly created feuds between the two armies. The Bombay soldiers, being for the most part low caste men, performed various important labours assigned to them, which the Bengal soldiers considered *infra dignitate;* and not content with refusing to work themselves, they taunted the Bombay sepoys perpetually for doing so. Sometimes this had the effect of incensing the latter against their Bengal companions-in-arms, but in other instances the Bombay men were made dissatisfied, and either grumbled as they pursued their work, which otherwise would have been cheerfully performed, or threw it up with a disposition to mutiny. In the Punjaub similar indications were offered of the general bad spirit of the Bengal sepoys, and the chronic interference of caste prejudices with the performance of their soldierly duties. In Affghanistan the cold of the country during the winter rendered impossible those ablutions which form a part of the daily religious ceremonial of the Brahmin, and by neglecting which he considered himself deprived of caste, and deprived of it by the action of the government who sent him there. When the cold became intense, some of the officers, pitying the sufferings of men inured to a warm climate, gave sheepskin jackets to them. The necessities of the occasion constrained them to wear them, but they were filled with indignation at the officers who distributed them, although of their own bounty, and regarded the government as untrue to them for placing them in a condition which tempted them to wear the skin of dead animals, and so lose caste. When these troops came back from Affghanistan they were regarded with horror by their brother soldiers and co-religionists; among civilians as men without caste—worse spiritually and temporally than if they had never known caste—men who had refused to perish rather than violate their religion; and the people considered them like certain apostates described in the New Testament—"twice dead, plucked out by the roots." This circumstance spread more or less disaffection through the whole Bengal army, and the high caste men lived in perpetual apprehension of being ordered to some new field of enterprise, where caste must be sacrificed to military duty, or they themselves become victims to military rigour. Undoubtedly the terms upon which these men enlisted were that their caste should be respected. Whether it was expedient to take men on such terms or not, these were the conditions upon which they enlisted, and they were jealous to the last degree of any infringement of them. That the government, and particular officers more especially, were not considerate of this stern bond there can be no question. The greased cartridges alone proved that. Nothing can be better known than that the Mohammedan has a conscientious scruple against the flesh of swine, and that the flesh of kine is abhorrent to the Hindoo. The cartridges for the Minié rifles were greased with preparations of fat from both. As soon as the soldiers came to know the fact, they became, in their own conscience, justified in revolt against a government which had betrayed them, violated its covenant, and inflicted upon them the greatest injury in their opinion possible—a deprivation of their ceremonial sanctity, their religious and social status, and their hope of a happy hereafter. The withdrawal of the cartridges, and the proclamations of the government, all came too late. The soldiery no longer believed in the government, and the severe means adopted to put down the first discontent fanned the flame of sedition. The imprisonment and severe treatment of the cavalry at Meerut in a cause which made them martyrs in the eyes of their fellow-soldiers precipitated an aggravated revolt. The whole course of procedure on the part of the officers of the government, civil and military, appeared to be infatuated. They were either unaware of the extent and depth of the high caste prejudice, or conscience, as one may call it, in reference to ceremonial uncleanness, or, knowingly, they adopted means most calculated to aggravate the passion which their provoking measures had excited. It was wrong to order high caste sepoys beyond Indian territory, where, in the nature of things, caste must be compromised. It was wrong to grease cartridges with cows' or pigs' fat, or in any other way wound prejudices or convictions which the government was pledged to respect. If it be said that the government was compelled to do these things by the necessities of the cases, the defence admits that the covenant ostensibly made with the high caste soldiers was *ab initio* improper; that such men were unsuited to the British Indian army; and that, however well they served in some instances, it was an error to employ them while a man could be obtained from any other quarter. Either such men ought not to have been recruited, or, having been recruited, faith should have been kept with them and their caste in all its inconveniences and its absurdities, and military incongruities should have been scrupulously and honourably respected.

Among the causes of inefficiency in the native army was that of too much confidence in native officers, whose sympathies were always with the high caste sepoys: and the Mohammedan officers were ever jealous of British ascendancy. Both to officers and men promotion has been extended too late in life. When the energies of men were gone, they were appointed to posts the duties of which they were not then able to discharge. There was too much respect for the seniority principle in the whole military administration of the company, and too much—perhaps unconsciously—of the bias of the aristocratic principle among our officers in the preference for high castes evinced in the selection of the soldiery.

Some of the evils here stated were seen by the late Sir Charles Napier, and led to the resignation of his high officers in India. That general was very unsparing in his censures, as well as sometimes lavish in his encomiums, and much allowance must be made for his characteristic strength of expression when perusing his opinions. Sir Charles, in a letter to an artillery officer, thus expressed his opinion of the condition of the army, and the causes of whatever inefficiency he perceived in it:—"Delhi is the station where I should desire to see European battalions cantoned, but many say it is unhealthy. Men from all parts of Asia meet in Delhi, and some day or other much mischief will be hatched within those city walls, and no European troops at hand. We shall see. I have no confidence in the allegiance of your high caste mercenaries. I have seen a 'sweeper' show more bravery in battle than a Brahmin and a high-named Mussulman. A high caste man cannot be attached to a Christian government. There are many errors of system which a commander-in-chief sees, but cannot change. The governor-general takes two-thirds of the power which the commander-in-chief ought to exercise, and the military board takes the rest! I cannot change the character of this army, which is bad and faulty as regards the system of discipline, and therefore I resign. Many of the old officers of infantry have been habituated to a bad system, and get into a routine of neglect from which the devil himself could not drive them. Look at the nightly guards in the Bengal army—the sentries are alone, and all the rest go to bed! The whole Bombay army does not present such anomaly, and it arises from the 'system' being bad. Still there are several very excellent disciplinarians in the Bengal army—men who take a line for themselves. Look at Gilbert, at Wheeler, at Huish, and a score of others. *In the regiment of artillery I myself know at least a dozen first-rate officers.* The Bengal army has no want of good officers, but it has want of a better system of discipline; and as I cannot introduce one, coupled with other causes, I have resigned. Lord Ellenborough wisely abolished Lord Auckland's injudicious system of 'politicals.' Young officers commanding old ones, and war carried on without any plan! A happy-go-lucky mode, which ended in Cabul, and the same system revised by Lord D——." It would appear either that Sir Charles was not always consistent in practice with his opinion, or else he found the necessities of his situation strong enough to overrule them, for he is said to have preferred military men to civilians for political, and even strictly civil, employments, when his own administrative functions gave him the opportunity of making selection. Mr. Thomas Campbell Robertson, late a member of the supreme council of India, and lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces, declares that no person so largely used the power of appointing military officers for civil purposes as Sir Charles Napier himself. On this subject Mr. Robertson, with great show of reason, remarks:—"The practice of thus draining the army of its cleverest members has certainly been carried too far, but it was the encouragement afforded by the prospect of such advancement that made Malcolm and others what they were, by stimulating them to qualify themselves for the highest political offices. The evil, too, it must be remembered, is not one inherent in the system, but might at any time have been corrected by each successive governor-general, if he had perceived the mischief now alleged to have thence resulted. But, in truth, no Indian ruler, when he wants aid in the management of a newly-acquired territory, can resist the temptation to employ the fittest available person he can find; and this will generally be a military man, because the civil service has few hands to spare from the duties of the original settled provinces of our empire. No man in this way did the thing against which he wrote more than the late Sir Charles Napier, who not only drew military men from their regiments to act in civil capacities, but drove away six of the ablest civilians who were sent to his assistance in Scinde. The practice, if it be an evil, is only one of the many attendant on the too rapid growth of our empire; and it would probably be best corrected, not by debarring young military men from all hope of political promotion, and so preventing the development of much latent talent, but by rendering the command of a battalion so lucrative and attractive, as to induce the juniors to remain with their regiments, in the hope of attaining to that post. But it is not so much on the number as on the character and capacity of the English officers present with a sepoy battalion that its efficiency depends. In former times, when the attachment between them was at its height, the officers were, we believe, fewer in proportion to the men than they are now; but then they were almost all good colloquial linguists, or in the way of becoming so; and though somewhat wanting in the graces of European society, had obtained an insight into the social system of Asiatic life, such as their more accomplished successors seem to think it beneath them to acquire. The sepoy officer of the present day, equal to his predecessor in courage and conduct in the field, and generally his superior in book knowledge, in manners, and perhaps in morals, falls far short of him in point of real acquaintance with those under his command. This defect, though in some degree imputable to the system which makes escape from his regiment the great object of every young officer's ambition, is still mainly attributable to the increased facilities of intercourse with England. Young men who are frequently refreshing their acquaintance with their mother country cannot settle down to India as their home in the same way as was done in the bygone days, ere steam was known, and a return to England was looked forward to as a remote and barely possible contingency. Tastes acquired in Europe do not readily conform to exclusively Asiatic pursuits: the native nautch is more than insipid when the opera lives in recent recollection; and thus there is no community, even of amusement, to bring the European and the native officers into something like social intercourse with each other. It is impossible here to conceal the fact that the increased number of our fair countrywomen in the East has probably made the separation between those classes wider than it was before. It is alleged, we know not with what truth,—but it is alleged by natives, that their best friends among European functionaries are lost to them from the moment of their marriage; and they generally impute the colder reception they meet with at any but business hours to the influence of the lady of the house." *

The gentleman last quoted, although an advocate of the East India Company, has conceded that laxity of discipline had inflicted injury upon the Bengal army, and admits the full force of the statement made on a previous page—that making the sepoy liable to serve beyond India was one of the most fruitful sources of disaffection in the native army, preparing the minds of the sepoys for being more speedily and intensely acted upon by the advent of the cartridge question. "In so far, therefore, as mere discipline is concerned, there, perhaps, is some truth in the assertion that the sepoy has been over-leniently dealt with at times when there was a call for rigour; but, as regards his scruples of caste, it can only mean that the government have adhered to the conditions on which the high caste men have entered its service. One of the first of these stipulations is that of not being obliged to embark. When service beyond the sea was in prospect, volunteers were ever to be found for the duty. Certain regiments, called 'general service battalions,' were raised, upon an understanding that they were to embark when required. Of late years it has been ordered that all recruits are to be enlisted on this understanding. This order practically excludes the relations of half the men in an old regiment—men who served as much in the hope of being able to push on their kinsfolk as to advance themselves. This order, therefore, savoured of bad faith, and must have tended to add strength to the distrust of our designs, which, however engendered, was, during this period, excited by the malevolence of the native and the extravagance of the European press, until at last 'the cartridge' appeared, with its alleged pigs' and cows' fat, to cement the union of the two classes of our subjects against us." It is worthy of remark that the issue of the greased cartridges was not the order of the East India Company, but of the crown. The company's officers, civil or military, would have known too well the certain effect of such a procedure to issue any such order. It emanated, like many other orders of late years, in the disposition to act irrespective of the company, or to overrule it, which has been shown by governors-general and the Board of Control. It will illustrate the spirit with which the board has ruled India to state the exercise of its patronage in reference to cadets. The appointments by the directors have been distributed among all ranks of the middle classes in England, more particularly among the sons of professional men; but the directors have ever kept in view, as the chief objects of their patronage, the sons of those who served India or served in India. The cadetships given by the board have been chiefly to the sons of *queen's* officers, clergymen, and of persons who could easily purchase into the queen's service. No one can be acquainted with the facts without being well aware that the influence of the imperial government, as distinguished from that of the company, has been injurious to the Indian army.

Major-general John Jacob, of the Bombay army, has published a series of tractates on the deficiencies of the Bengal army before the mutiny had destroyed it. These were entitled, *Tracts on the Native Army of India.* He affirmed that the Bengal army was without order; that its officers were incapable generally of enforcing it; and that their treatment of the men rendered discipline impossible. The general is so high an authority, that his exact words will no doubt be preferred by the reader:—"The officers of the Bengal army are formed exactly of the same materials as those of the other armies of India;

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* *Political Prospects of British India.*

their native soldiers of material in its raw state perhaps somewhat better than that of the others; but from the hour he enters the service, the Bengal officer *is trained to sink the European, and adopt the Asiatic.* In the Bombay army the 'feeble Hindoo' becomes half European, and adopts the feelings and ideas of Europeans, as far as they refer to his position as a soldier, till they become his own. In Bengal the European becomes half Hindoo, and thus the commanding influence of superior energy and superior moral character (I deny any superiority of intellect) is in a great measure lost. This pervades the whole society in Bengal, but its effects are most glaringly apparent in the army. In the Bengal army there is a constant studying of the men's *castes,* which the EUROPEAN APPEARS TO THINK AS MUCH OF, AND TO ESTEEM AS HIGHLY, AS DO THE NATIVES THEMSELVES; and the sepoys, instead of looking on the European officers as superior beings, are compelled to consider them as bad Hindoos! Instead of being taught to pride themselves on their *soldiership* and discipline, the sepoys are trained to pride themselves on their absurdities of caste, and think that their power and value are best shown by refusing to obey any orders which they please to say do not accord with their religious prejudices. It is a grave mistake to suppose that religious feelings have any real influence on these occasions; it is a mistake, which would be ridiculous, if its consequences were not so serious; but it is certain that the Bengal sepoy is a stickler for his imaginary *rights of caste* for the *sake of increased power;* he knows well that government never intended any insult to his creed, however absurd it may be; but he knows that by crying out about his caste, he keeps power in his hands, saves himself from many of the hardships of the service, and makes his officers afraid of him. This is proved by what takes place in the other armies of India. In the army of Bombay, even a Purwarree may, and often does, rise to the rank of subadar by his own merit; in Bengal such a man would not even be admitted into the ranks, for fear of his contaminating those fine gentlemen, the Brahmins; yet in the Bombay army the Brahmin (father, brother, or son, may be, of him of Bengal) stands shoulder to shoulder in the ranks—nay, sleeps in the same tent with his Purwarree fellow-soldier, and dreams not of any objection to the arrangement! If this subject be mentioned to a Bombay Brahmin sepoy, as it is sometimes by *Bengal* officers, who are always asking the men about their caste, the ready answer is, 'What do I care; is he not a soldier of the state?' The reply speaks volumes, and shows a state of affairs which the officers of the Bengal army *cannot conceive.* The system of promotion in the Bengal army is exactly in keeping with the principle of the immutability of caste. No individual merit can advance, no individual incapacity nor misconduct (unless actually criminal) can retard the promotion of the Bengal sepoy—seniority alone is considered. What is the consequence? The men, not feeling that their prospects of advancement in the service depend on the favourable opinions of their European officers, want the most powerful stimulus to good conduct. They are never disciplined (as I understand the word), are often mutinous, and never acquire the knowledge of their profession which may qualify them to hold commissions with advantage to the service. The Bengal native officers are always totally inefficient, and necessarily so under the present system, because they are chosen without any regard whatever to their fitness to hold commissions, and because they are almost always worn out with age before they receive them." This general statement of the inefficiency of the Bengal troops has been controverted by numerous officers of that army. Perhaps the keenest and most plausible of the general's opponents is Colonel Phipps, who has given some striking instances of the courage and discipline of Bengal regiments, not only in India, but in Egypt, the Punjaub, Affghanistan, &c. The colonel wrote early in September, 1857, declaring that only such regiments as were badly officered would revolt. It was not then known that the whole Bengal army was in mutiny, and the colonel evidently did not believe that the revolt had extended so widely as the news from India informed us. His statements, however, proved either that the Bengal army was badly commanded altogether, or that it had deteriorated since he was more conversant with it, for on his own showing events rather confirmed his opponent's allegations.

The opinion of General Jacob that no real alarm for their religion actuated the Brahminical and high Mussulman army of Bengal in revolting, but only a desire for power, is not borne out by the facts, nor the observation and testimony of those who were in the midst of the transactions themselves, and whose opportunities of knowing were the very best. Thus the late Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces, in a letter dated 22nd May, after noticing his own address to the troops on parade at Agra, adds the following remarks:—"They all at the moment expressed their belief of my communications to them; and I have seen them in a familiar way on several occasions since. They have undoubtedly been infected by a deep distrust of our purposes. The general scope of the notion by which they have been influenced may be expressed in the remarks of one of them, a Hindoo, Tewarree Brahmin, to the effect that men were created of different faiths; and that the notion attributed to us, of having but one religion, because we had now but one uninterrupted dominion throughout India, was a tyrannical and impious one."

Mr. F. H. Robinson, of the Bengal civil service, describes himself as having been obliged to communicate to an old retired officer of Gardiner's horse, and to a Mohammedan of rank, matters calculated to hurt their religious feelings, when he was startled by the manner in which his communication was received, indicating the loss of respect for the British authorities, and a sense of injury resulting from what was regarded as change of policy, and consequent breach of faith on the part of the government:—"I shall never forget the looks of mortification, anger, and, at first, of incredulity, with which this announcement was received by both, nor the bitter irony with which the old russuldar remarked, that no doubt the wisdom of the *new gentlemen* (*sahibilogue*, so they designate the English) had shown them the folly and ignorance of the gentlemen of the old time, on whom it pleased God, nevertheless, to bestow the government of India." It may be true that a love of power was the main element in the high caste disposition to mutiny some years ago, but beginning to deceive others, Brahmins and Mussulmen seem to have at last deceived themselves, for undoubtedly the feeling of the revolters has been made as plain as anything can be, and it is one of intense and desperate fanaticism. However Mohammedan princes, Brahminical priests, and all sorts of devotees, may have intensified or even created the feeling, it exists. The native press did much to call it forth, fulfilling the predictions of Sir Thomas Munro. But, whatever way accounted for, the sepoys became thoroughly convinced that their best interests for time and eternity were endangered by the zealotry of the English, and they therefore set their lives against fearful odds, revolting where there was no chance of success, and where destruction was so imminent, as to be, humanely speaking, certain. So far General Jacob is wrong, whatever may have been the circumstances which, in the constitution of the Bombay army, or of the Scinde horse, may have emboldened him to adopt the line of strong assertion upon which he has ventured. It is, however, more than probable that had the Bengal sepoys been dealt with *originally* upon the plan which the general affirms to be the only wise one, no revolt would have ever taken place. General Jacob maintains that the paucity of officers in regiments in no way relaxed the discipline of the Bengal army. He even goes so far as to maintain that native subalterns are always better, and that if companies and troops were commanded by native officers, it would be an improvement, the staff of each regiment being Europeans. Whatever be the merits of that and other matters of detail, the following picture of the Bengal army, drawn by General Jacob years ago, accounts sufficiently for the mutiny, and proves the necessity of reconstituting the army of Bengal upon different principles:—

"I repeat that the ordinary state of the Bengal army is such as must appear to an officer of the royal or of the Bombay army to be a state of *mutiny*. The men are *not* taught and trained instinctively to obey orders, and even the European officers are afraid of them. This is not wholly the fault of the regimental officers of Bengal. The evil is produced and perpetuated by the false ideas formed from the first moment a young officer enters the service in the school of errors, which the native army of Bengal is at present; and by the fatal effects of taking all power from regimental officers and concentrating it at army head-quarters, thus producing an artificial sameness of dull stagnation, instead of encouraging the natural uniformity of progressive improvement. In the Bombay army, on the contrary, the native officer is invaluable, and his authority is respected, though he be the lowest of the low in caste; because the practice in Bombay is for the European officers to make the Hindoos *soldiers;* instead of, as in Bengal, the sepoys making the European officers half Hindoos. There is more danger to our Indian empire from the state of the Bengal army, from the feeling which there exists between the native and the European, and thence spreads throughout the length and breadth of the land, than from all other causes combined. Let government look to this; it is a serious and most important truth. The commanding officer of a regiment, with increased power and respectability of position, would feel increased pride in the service; he would do his own duty and make all under him do theirs. At present he has so little power to do good, that in the Bengal army he too often becomes careless of doing evil. The prospects of all under him depending on their own individual merit, a healthy state of mutual support and assistance would soon be established, and no further complaints of the want of a cordial good feeling between the officers and men would be heard. A discipline founded on mutual respect and advantage cannot fail of success. Without it no number of European officers would suffice to make decent soldiers of the sepoys of Bengal." These are indeed remarkable words, and as they were written long before the breaking out of the Bengal mutiny, they were the expression of no afterthought. It is astonishing how the authorities of the Bengal military service, the governor-general in council, and the directors at home can be indifferent to facts like these. It would, however, be absurd to throw the entire responsibility upon the directors, seeing that the Bengal system was petted by the representatives of her majesty in India—high caste sepoys were the vogue with high caste Europeans, and with none more than those whose duty it was most of all to correct these evils. The late Lord Hardinge had much to answer for in this respect; as governor-general of India, and subsequently as commander-in-chief of the forces in England, his opportunities of promoting amendments were great, and he saw and admitted all the evils. He was not, however, the man who, for the sake of the justice of a cause, would incur the odium of measures unwelcome to those in power; while for good or ill, he stood, with all the tenacity of an inveterate conservative, obstinately in the old ways. But he fell in with the general spirit of governors-general, whose motto has been always in things civil, and to a great extent in things military, "Assimilate with the practice in Bengal." That standard is not likely to be again held up for conformity, and it is yet too early to affirm what will be the new organization of the army of Bengal—perhaps of the army of all India. Dr. Buist, one of the most distinguished scholars and public men in Bombay, has made the following remarks upon this subject, which have been much noticed both in India and in England:—"We never can again have a military force in India in which we cannot confide, which we cannot bring ourselves to trust, or teach our enemies to fear. The extent to which our regular troops were in former days employed in police and escort duties was in the last degree injurious to discipline, while the very rigidness of the discipline and rigours of the forms required for a regular army, unfitted its components for those light and irregular duties where self-reliance, prompt and independent action, are so much more important than the formalities of the line, which not unfrequently stand in their way. The duties of defending our frontiers, of chastising our enemies, and of maintaining order and suppressing or detecting crime among the people, have no more connexion with each other than this,—that in both cases physical force must be resorted to; in both cases men must have arms committed to their hands, with authority to use them. Yet, for all the great purposes of external defence, half the army until now entertained by us would have sufficed, had the deficiency been made up by police. For this last branch of service the native must always be fallen back upon. He may be made much more useful even than the European, and quite as safe. The sepoy mutiny could never have ripened into insurrection but for the acquaintance of the various corps with each other, the community of their feelings and interests, the identity of their discipline, and the frequency with which they had served together. A police corps is necessarily a local and an isolated thing. Were the ghaut-rangers to fly to arms, there is no reason whatever why any of the adjoining local corps should sympathize, co-operate with, or join them—very many reasons why it should be the opposite. The knowledge of the fact is quite sufficient to prevent a rising. Were it otherwise, we should just have lost the services of a single insubordinate body, which would be at once exterminated, and there at an end. With sufficient abundance of police corps there seems no difficulty whatever of our keeping India in perpetuity with an army exclusively English, or of maintaining English troops in reasonable good health, fit at all times for service, and without any inordinate amount of casualties, everywhere throughout the country." *

However much disposed to place confidence in the opinions of such a man as the editor of the *Overland Standard*, it is impossible to believe that any arrangements in respect to recruiting in England, or systems of European reliefs, can remove the necessity of trusting in a great measure to native troops. If the government enlist only such men as will serve without any stipulations as to caste, they will be found in sufficient numbers.

The high praise of low caste men written by Sir Charles Napier has been qualified by General Jacob, who admits that the raw material of the recruits from Oude and the north-western provinces is superior to that of which the Bombay army is composed. Colonel Phipps describes the Bombay regiments sent to Egypt as incapable of serving, because of their physical inferiority. The high commendations passed upon that army were not borne out in the revolt of 1857, for several regiments revolted when brought into temptation, so that the authorities could not venture to make very efficient use of that army until towards the close of the revolt. The Madras army, upon which the eccentric panegyrist passed no encomiums, bore the test better than that of Bombay.

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* Dr. Buist's *Overland Bombay Standard*.

In the future military system of India, all these circumstances must be taken into consideration. In the case of Madras it will be best to "let well alone," and, by leaving the constitution of that army untouched, it will be an instructive lesson to the sepoys in the other presidencies, and to the natives of India generally, showing them that there is no disposition on the part of the government either to needless retaliation or unreasonable distrust.

The Bombay army should be modified. It is easy to enlist recruits from the Belochee, Huzzara, and Affghan hill frontiers, from the doabs of the Punjaub, and from Scinde. A few Rajpoots might also be employed, and also a few native Christians, provided they are not taken from the wretched half-caste Portuguese. In the Island of Ceylon recruits could be found, and, provided they were not taken from the Cingalese who inhabit the low country, but from the inhabitants of the higher inland regions, and especially the neighbourhood of the ancient capital, they would be found good soldiers. The Moormen of Ceylon, although bigoted Mohammedans, would also serve well as soldiers; but they are such a money-loving and trading race, that there would be no likelihood of their enlisting in any considerable numbers. Arabs might also be employed in Bombay.

The Bengal native army should be reorganized chiefly from Sikhs; a few Malays, Dyaks, Peguans, Arracanese, Martabanese, and even Siamese and Birmese, might be numbered among them. Separate companies of these nationalities could be easily attached to the infantry battalions, and would make good soldiers; as cavalry they would be useless. The Bengal artillery might also receive recruits from some of these races. There is no deficiency of material for an army in Bengal composed of orientals who have soldierly qualities, and would be faithful. A better army could be organized from the heterogeneous materials here named than ever existed in the homogeneous high caste troops of the Bengal service. Considerable attention has been paid to the question whether our Cape Colony would not furnish suitable recruits. The Caffres certainly appear well adapted to the service; the Ceylon rifle regiment is composed of them. They perform garrison duty in that island admirably; and when they served in Madras they displayed spirit and soldierhood. An Indian journal of influence advocates this measure in the following forcible terms:—"The recent proposition to raise Caffre regiments for service in India is, without doubt, a most excellent one. The men of the Cape—brave, acute, and the best light infantry soldiers in the world—appear to us likely to supersede the untrustworthy sepoy to the greatest advantage. Their manner of warfare, their being equally at home in the dodging of bush or jungle-fighting, in which the keen sight and the unerring rifle decide the fate of the day, and in the deadly hand-to-hand struggle, in which personal strength and courage are of the greatest value; their sagacity, endurance, and habitude to the extremes of heat and cold,—all combine to render them the fitter for our purpose. The Caffre is a barbarian, it is true, but he is in that primitive state of barbarism in which mankind, together with the natural vices inseparable from a wild state, combine all the manly virtues; and we look upon him as far higher in the scale of humanity than the besotted and degraded Hindoo, sunk in effeminacy, cowardly and cruel as the tiger of his jungles, and clinging pertinaciously to the most horrible superstitions that were ever imposed upon the credulity of an ignorant nation by a designing priesthood. Think, too, of the moral effect which the introduction of this new race would produce throughout India;—a race as black as ebony, laughing to scorn the very name of caste (that bugbear of our government), and in all probability anointing their sinewy bodies with the fat of sacred bulls in front of the temples of Vishnu. The power of the natives of India has always lain in the fact of our depending upon native soldiers to garrison the country. Let every sepoy be disarmed and dismissed; let a native soldier become completely one of the things that were and are not, and we can do what we please without reference to caste or any foolery of that description. To effect this, the Caffre must be well treated, well fed, and well paid, but, above all, taught to consider himself far superior to the crouching slaves over whom he is to be the guard. But it will be urged, 'Suppose the Caffres mutiny; what then?' This is easily obviated: make the return to his own country, a wealthy and prosperous man, the clear prospect of the Caffre at the end of his term of service, and we warrant he will serve you faithfully. Avarice is one of their ruling passions; frugality a national characteristic. Give our savage auxiliary his fill of beef, together with a constant supply of tobacco for his pipe, and he is content. Of course they must be officered by Europeans, and reduced to a state of discipline; but this is easy to effect. It is our province to point out the advantage of the measure, and the benefits to result from its adoption, not to enter into details as to how it is to be effected." *

The employment of Caffres, or any other aliens, in Madras would be impolitic after the loyalty evinced by the Madras army; and if the armies of the sister presidencies be well constituted, modified by the introduction of new elements, and aided by a sufficient force of Europeans, especially in Bengal, there can be nothing to fear from Madras, flanked as she will be by newly constituted armies on her eastern and western confines, skirted by the waters of the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, and the apex of her peninsula confronted by Ceylon, where a reserve of Caffre troops might always be held available. Independent of these grounds for rejecting apprehensions as to the future peace of Madras, the conduct of the army of that presidency during the revolt gives such promise of future loyalty as to deserve confidence. Officers of that army—men of high culture and extensive military experience—assured the author at the beginning of the great mutiny, that distrust pervaded the minds of officers who before had the most implicit confidence in their troops. The proportion of Mohammedans among the Madras sepoys, and the state of fanaticism in which the Mohammedan sepoys at that time appeared, very reasonably impaired the faith of these gentlemen in the fidelity of soldiers they had so long relied on. Events have shown that the organization of that force, and the relation of officers and men, have been such as to preserve the attachment of the troops to their commanders, and their fealty to the government. The following sketch of the spirit of that army was published in February, 1858, ostensibly by the Sheik Kirdawund, Madras army:—"From the 10th of May until the 10th of November, 1857, a period of upwards of six months, the Madras army passed through the terrible crisis which shipwrecked one army, and sorely tried, and in some measure overcame, the fidelity of another; and out of nearly fifty thousand of native troops not one man was punished for mutiny. On the contrary, wherever called upon to act against the mutineers, they did so faithfully and courageously. Nearly half the infantry regiments, and of the sappers and artillery, volunteered to cross the *kale pane* to act against the rebels, and the other half are ready to go there, or to China, Singapore, Birmah, or wherever else the necessities of the state require their services. Indeed, portions of the 12th, 38th, and 29th regiments are now with the China force. The Straits settlements and China have been entirely confided to the safe keeping of Madras regiments, with only a wing of a European corps to aid them at Rangoon. The 17th and 27th, with native artillery and sappers, are by this time with Sir Colin at Oude, whilst the Madras Rifles are being pushed up towards the same destination. Nagpore, Ramptree, Jubbulpore, and Hoosungabad, in Central India, have been saved by the 26th, 28th, 32nd, and 33rd regiments, nobly aided by the 4th light cavalry, to aid whom, and re-establish order round Saugor, &c., the 6th and 7th light cavalry regiments have been pushed forward in the height of the monsoon, and have by this time reached their destination. Nor is this all: to the eternal honour of the men be it recorded, that, although poor, from their frequent marches and changes of quarters, they repeatedly volunteered a day's pay for the assistance of 'their masters,' the 'sahibs' of Bengal. Whenever Bengal sepoys have been found in the bazaars or public thoroughfares of the presidency our men have instantly brought them before their officers or the civil power, and in several instances where Brahmins or religious fanatics have tampered with sepoys they have been denounced. . . . . What is the cause of the coast army remaining so entirely faithful during a crisis which no one out of India, during the period it lasted, can ever appreciate or fully understand—when the empire was shaken to its foundations—when emissaries from Delhi, Lucknow, and every discontented chief throughout the length and breadth of the land, were entering our cities and cantonments, and preaching a crusade against the 'infidel Feringhee,' and promising rewards, titles, jagheers, &c., to all who should assist in the holy cause? It is a matter for deep reflection, and the conclusion to be arrived at cannot vary much from what I now attribute it to—viz., the strict discipline, coupled with the lowness of caste generally, among our Hindoo sepoys: I say Hindoo, for all Mohammedans in our army are alike. We have none of those distinctions so common in the irregulars before Delhi and in the Punjaub, where one Mussulman with great pleasure cuts the throat of another for a monthly consideration of twelve shillings! Affreedees, Persians, Affghans, Beloochees, and Pathans. Our Mussulmen, such as they are, in the infantry branch of the service are in the proportion of one in three, whilst in the Bengal army they number only one in seven. We have Syuds, Sheiks, Pathans—the two latter much mixed up now-a-days; and whilst this revolt is called a Mohammedan one, not one Mohammedan out of our twenty thousand in the infantry, cavalry, and artillery, has shown a symptom of disaffection. I do not believe either that the Mohammedans of Bengal would, even if they could, have organized this conspiracy in the army. They were greatly in the minority, especially in the infantry, and they had but little influence at any time. The mischief lay with the Brahmins, and them only, until they had gained over the Mohammedans, Chuttrees, and Sikhs, the latter, however, in very few numbers. In my own regiment we rejoiced in only one Brahmin (some few years ago), a Mr. Caseram Pandy, who was certainly the greatest blackguard in the corps, and enjoyed more knapsack drill than was good for him, I fear, for he was always going into hospital with pain in the chest! Since that time I find we have admitted another. With reference to the published returns of castes, I may mention that the figures under the head of 'Brahmins and Rajpoots' represent almost entirely the latter class of men in the Madras army. It has been stated repeatedly that each Bengal corps had from five to six hundred Brahmins and Chuttrees in it. An average taken in three of the Bombay regiments is three hundred and fourteen; whilst two of the Madras corps number only forty-eight and twenty-eight of these castes respectively. Herein, then, lies the secret of our success; to this, principally, we are indebted for tranquillity. There never has been any undue respect paid to 'caste' in recruiting for our army; if Brahmins and Chuttrees chose to enlist, they met with the same treatment as the Pariah, the Telinga, or the Tamiel sepoy; they have invariably given themselves airs, and, going on foreign service, have talked much about their caste, but my invariable practice was to take no notice of their absurd pretensions. . . . . When on duty the men neglect the usual ablutions before a meal. Not so in Bengal; off comes not only belts but uniform, and in a state as nearly approaching to nakedness as possible, and generally far away from the guard, the meal is cooked by themselves, and disposed of. If the shadow of an officer or low caste man falls on their food, they throw it away! When I called on General Godwin, in Rangoon, a havildar of my corps came up to me, and reported that the general, seeing him lying down on his carpet in uniform (our invariable rule for orderlies), had asked him why he did not take off his regimentals, and make himself more comfortable! I simply asked, 'Well! what was your reply?' He said, 'I told the general I belonged to the Madras — regiment, that it was not our custom, and that I should be punished if seen by any of the officers.' To which he added, 'The general bade me do as I liked.' When my corps was ordered to embark for ——, the subadar-major was deputed by the men to inquire of me whether I was certain that good water was on board for their use, and they were perfectly satisfied when I assured them I had tasted it, and that it was much better than what they usually drank on the march. When we arrived at our destination a Bengal corps had to be embarked, and the men insisted on the captain's starting the water out of his tanks, and allowing them to refill them with their own immaculate hands! This was done: the ships were delayed for the purpose! The sepoys filled large casks, rolled them down to the boats upwards of a mile, when they were towed astern of the boats to the steamers, and put on board; but when the men, out at sea, came to drink this pure and undefiled element, great was their consternation to find it horribly brackish! The casks in transit had let in the salt water! During another trip on board the *Oriental*, our men, towards the end of the voyage, were served out water which was quite hot. They told me it made them sick unless they kept it in their tins until it became cold! I inquired, and sure enough it was so. The steam was condensed, and the supply barely kept up with the demand! I explained the matter to the sepoys, showing them, with the aid of a good-natured officer of the vessel, how fresh water was being made out of salt! They were thunderstruck, and declared the *hickmut* (invention) was worth going a voyage to see, and that there was no knowing where the English people's cleverness would end: it was their private opinion for some time after that we might, if we tried, dry up the sea. 'Allah only can tell.' The Madras troops, to a man, on the line of march, drink water from leathern bags. The high caste Bengalese would not condescend to wash their feet in it! Sir Charles Napier tells us that the Bengal sepoys are two inches taller than British soldiers of the line. What their average may be I know not, but I believe our corps are very much the same height as the line. We average from five feet seven inches to five feet eight inches in different regiments of which I possess size rolls; and some companies of sappers average only five feet six inches, and of these little fellows Lord Gough in China, Napier in Scinde, Godwin in Birmah, and, lastly and very recently, Outram in Persia, have formed the most gratifying opinion. Some of them are now in Oude, others with the Malwa field force, and I shall be surprised if they do not again win golden opinions from those they serve under. They are generally considered to be very low caste, but this is not quite correct; there may be a sprinkling of Pariah cook-boys, but the generality of them differ in no way from the infantry, save in greater muscle, the result of their daily labour as sappers. So long ago as the first China war Lord Gough exclaimed, 'These Bengal volunteers give more trouble than all the rest of the army!' (in those days the fleet was carrying a large force, including five Madras native regiments). And why was this? Because their caste required that they should land, perform their ablutions, and then eat, whilst the rest could cook on board ship, and enjoy their fish curry there as much as if they were on land. In Birmah Madras sepoys were employed in draining forts; and one occasion Lieutenant W——, the executive engineer, begged me to come with him to set the men of my regiment at work, 'as he was afraid they might refuse him.' The work required was really that of scavengers—viz., clearing out a choked up culvert under the fort walls. The stench was fearful, but the work was as necessary for the health of the troops themselves as it was for that of the Europeans, and, with nothing worse than a wry face and much laughter, these fellows did the work in two days. I was greatly gratified to hear sometime afterwards, from an officer of the Bengal engineers, that Lieutenant W—— had reported to him the good conduct of the sepoys, adding 'that they worked every bit as well as Europeans!' To make the Madras army still more efficient and attached to their officers but one thing is required—viz., the bestowal of greater powers on the commanding officers of corps, and less interference at head-quarters, to which may be added, perhaps, a small quantity of red tape! I will give only one instance of undue interference, which, if continued in, would ruin any native army. A Mohammedan sepoy was tried by a native court-martial, convicted, and sentenced to dismissal for gross insolence and insubordination in the orderly room. He was dismissed; the proceedings were quite formal,—approved and countersigned from head-quarters,—and the man was expelled the regiment. He happened some time afterwards to be at Bangalore, where the commander-in-chief was staying, and, I suppose, by perpetual annoyance and petitions to the gallant old soldier, he succeeded in creating a feeling of pity. However that may be, it resulted in an order for his restoration! He was restored, and a more ill-conditioned brute never handled a musket. Cunning enough to keep himself clear of further courts, he succeeded in ridiculing, with others, his commanding officer."

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* *Bombay Telegraph and Courier.*

Whatever confidence may be placed in the Madras army as it is, or in the Bombay army modified both as to its constitution and composition, it is evident that a considerably increased European force will be necessary for the occupation of Bengal and the north-west provinces, although much of the duty of these territories may be committed to Sikhs, Goorkhas, Beloochees, and that mixed class which may be so readily raised along the Scinde frontier and the country of the Indus. Amongst the various plans put forth as likely to prove effective, there has been none so feasible as that of sending European regiments by the overland route to Kurrachee, whence, by the steam flotilla on the Indus, or the new railway, they could proceed at once to Shikapore, Hydrabad, Lahore, Umritsir, Peshawur, and other posts in the north and north-west of India. Becoming there gradually acclimated, they could descend to the north-west provinces, and, by way of the lower provinces, to Calcutta, sailing thence for the Cape of Good Hope and other colonies, or returning home by the overland journey, having served *en route* at Madras, Ceylon, and Bombay. By this means regiments need not remain too long in India, which has been one of the chief objections to service there, not only because of the difficulty of furloughs from such distant parts, and the expense attending them, but also because long residence in the lower provinces produces disease, incapacitating the soldier for vigorous duty; frequently a few years' service in the lower provinces, or the capitals of Southern and Western India, destroys life, or leaves the seeds of disease or debility, which impair usefulness, if they do not abridge the term of existence. Formerly it would have been impossible to accomplish a scheme like this, but the railway system now in progress in India, and the completion of the line connecting the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, will render it perfectly practicable.

A very remarkable address was delivered at the United Service Institution in April, 1858, by Lieutenant-colonel Kennedy, of the royal engineers, on the influence of railways in India upon the efficiency of the army there, and the economy to the government of adopting a thorough system upon military grounds. If the statements of Colonel Kennedy be correct, then the future military system of India must depend upon the actual amount of railways intersecting the country, and the plan upon which they are constructed. The report of the colonel's address is of such deep interest to the subject of this chapter, and to the general direction of military affairs in our Indian empire, that it does not admit of being abbreviated, its details bearing so directly upon the whole question discussed:—

"Taking the proportion of railways as existing in the United States of America for railways in India of 1 mile of railway to 112 square miles of country, which he considered was the lowest scale that should be applied to any inhabited country even where the general industry was limited to agriculture, if the railways were uniformly laid down in that proportion, the most distant points would be 60 miles from a railway. The proportion of railways in the United Kingdom was 1 mile to about 13½ square miles, and would make the most distant points on the average about 6¾ miles from any railway. The population of America averaged 9 to the square mile; the population of India, 124 to the square mile; and of the United Kingdom, 226 to the square mile. The density of the population in India was 14 times greater than in America, and therefore as many times greater was the necessity for railways in India. According to the American scale, about 12,493 miles of railway were absolutely required for India. So urgent did the considerations of railway communication in India appear to him, both as regarded its industrial progress and military protection and defence, that on his return from that country in 1852, after having held the appointment of military secretary to the commander-in-chief, as well as that of consulting engineer to the supreme government in the railway department, he felt bound to address a report, dated the 15th of September, 1852, on the subject of railway to the home government of India, in which he fully explained the advantages of railway communication for military purposes, and stated that in India marching or campaigning in summer was out of the question, except at a fearful expense of life and health to European troops. It was shown in that report that a proper system of railways (while increasing the efficiency of the army) would enable a reduction to be made in the military establishment of India equal to £2,332,482 per annum. This would represent a capital of £58,312,000, if raised at 4 per cent., and if invested in railways, at an average cost of £6000 per mile, would furnish 9718 miles of railway. The report was sent by government to India, and circulated to the authorities there, and it was likewise laid before parliament. Had the principles therein urged been adopted with the energy exemplified in the United States of America, 2000 miles of railway per annum might have been opened during the last three years in India; which would have placed the authorities in a condition to deal effectually with the mutiny of the Bengal army, if it would not have altogether prevented the occurrence of that mutiny. In 1857 the force of the British government in India was 246,872 men of all arms, of whom 42,500 were Europeans, and 204,372 natives, distributed at 228 stations, giving a ratio of native troops to European troops of nearly 5 to 1. By another return made to the House of Commons in April, 1852, the queen's and company's European troops amounted to 49,408 men, the company's native troops, including contingents, to 276,432 men, making a total of 325,840 men, and giving a ratio of above 5½ natives to 1 European. The same return stated the military resources of native princes at 398,918 men, making the gross ratio of company's and native princes' troops to European troops 13½ to 1. It likewise stated the European artillery at 7436 men, the company's native artillery at 9004 men, and native princes' artillery at 12,962 men, making the company's and native princes' artillery together compared to European artillery as 3 to 1. The European cavalry were stated at 4133 men, the company's native cavalry, including contingents, at 39,758 men, and the native princes' cavalry, at 68,303 men, making the ratio of company's and native princes' cavalry to European cavalry over 26 to 1. The average of four years showed that the annual military charges for the 325,840 men, not including buildings, amounted to £10,106,680. He assumed from the experience they had had that henceforth the native troops in the Indian army should not be allowed to exceed those of Europeans, but that they might be safely employed in equal numbers, the artillery, engineers, and sappers, however, being exclusively, or, at all events, chiefly European. Even under these arrangements the force, although secure, would not be as effective for occupation purposes as the larger proportion of natives would make it in consequence of the effects of climate on Europeans. With a proper system of railway intercourse the operations and strength of the army would be greatly increased, by enabling troops rapidly to penetrate every district, so that the most distant points of the country might be on the average only 60 miles from the nearest railway. This would require but six ordinary or three forced marches to reach any point from the railway, or base of all military operations in India—a base of extraordinary strength, from the rapidity with which every part of it could be furnished with the required amount of troops, provisions, and stores. About 12,000 miles of railway, as before mentioned, would suffice on that scale, 6000 miles being main lines, along which the army might be assumed to be distributed at equal intervals in brigades. The length of those intervals would depend upon the aggregate strength of the army. The remaining 6000 miles would consist of second class lines, branching from the main lines of railway to provide communication throughout the local districts. On comparing the power of concentrating troops efficiently provided with provisions and military stores upon the most decisive point or points of India in the shortest time and at the smallest cost, with and without railways, he assumed that, in either case, the army of occupation should be posted in brigades of one European regiment, one native regiment, one squadron of European cavalry, one squadron of native cavalry, and a European field battery of artillery of four guns and two howitzers, at equal intervals, along the main lines of 6000 miles. It would require 48 days without railways to concentrate by marching a force of 53,000 men from an aggregate army of 325,840 men, which, composed as above, would cost annually £13,785,870, whereas an equal force could be concentrated by railway in 7 days from an aggregate army of only 100,000 men, costing only £6,214,530 per annum. Thus the 53,000 men could be brought to any one given point by railway in about one-seventh of the time, from an army under one-third of the strength, and costing under one-half of the amount, as compared with the assembly of a similar force at the same point from the larger army without railways. To assemble by marching 53,000 men from an equally distributed army of only 100,000 men would occupy nearly six months, instead of seven days by railway. The advantages of railway transport for troops in India over marching as regarded time in concentrating a field force were as 24 to 1; as regarded the economy of military establishments, over 2 to 1; as regarded the power of reducing the numerical force of the army, and consequently the number of Europeans, as 3 to 1. The advantages of railways as regarded the protection of Europeans from exposure to climate, the rapid and successful issue of every war or conflict, and the averting of those contingencies that produced war and disturbance, were beyond calculation. Equally striking results would attend the establishment of railways as regarded every other department of the government; and, above all, it would appear in the development of industry, trade, and commerce. He thought it was clear that without railways the army in India could not safely be reduced below its former numerical establishment of about 325,000 men, and that of this gross number one-half, or 162,000, must be Europeans, the whole costing about £13,785,836 per annum, while with proper railway accommodation the gross force might be reduced to 100,000 men, the Europeans to 50,000 men, and the military charges to £6,214,530, and that this enormous reduction in men and money would be attended with a seven-fold rapidity in bringing together a field force of 50,000 men at any point, as compared with the power which the larger army would confer without railways. The reduction allowed, too, for the artillery and engineer corps being maintained on their former full numerical strength, converting what was previously composed of native soldiers in these arms into an equal number of Europeans. And it was clear that railways would admit of an improvement in the calibre of their field artillery, while they would facilitate incalculably the difficult process of bringing up siege-trains when required at any remote point. They would never then hear of generals being obliged to delay for weeks or months the operations of a campaign until a few heavy guns and stores were brought with infinite toil and cost to the front. He thought the question deserved the closest attention of every British and Indian statesman, and offered a solution of their principal Indian difficulties, past, present, and future. Even irrespective of the mutiny question, their Indian finances for the last four years had shown an average annual deficiency of revenue amounting to £1,676,333. The increased military expenditure of over £3,500,000 consequent upon the mutiny would thus bring the future annual deficiency of revenue to above £5,000,000 sterling, and this state of things must continue until a safe reduction could be made in the military force. The judicious construction of 12,000 miles of railway, which could be effected within seven years, without any cost to government, would admit of a reduction in the military force to the extent of over £7,500,000 sterling annually, thus turning, by means of railways, an annual deficiency in the revenues of India, considerably over £5,000,000 sterling, into an annual surplus of more than £2,000,000."

Another advantage of an extensive railway system in India, upon which Colonel Kennedy ought to have dwelt, is the frequent change of quarters to the troops which it would afford, and in that respect it would conduce even more to the health of the European soldier than by exempting them from long marches. Marching under the sun of India is not so detrimental to the health of the soldier as the colonel seems to think.

Other officers have made experiments which prove that, provided the soldier's head be properly protected, his clothing adapted to the climate, and his arms and accoutrements light, travelling in the daytime, and even when the sun is high in the heavens, is not so injurious as night marches. More frequent changes of quarters than at present are allowed or even possible, would be very salutary to the European troops, for the barrack accommodation is generally so bad as to be most injurious to them; and it would require a long time and a greater outlay than the funds at the company's disposal for military public works will allow, to provide healthy barrack accommodation at all the company's military stations. Sir William Napier writes of his brother Charles's opinion on this matter as follows:—

"When in Scinde he assailed the authorities with remonstrances; and himself planned and built the wing of a model barrack at Hydrabad, hoping thus to lead the government to an extension of his improvements. In vain; Lord Dalhousie forbade the completion of his superb barracks, and the materials collected for building the other wing remained to rot on the ground.

"When he became commander-in-chief in India he renewed his exertions to obtain good barracks, and again built model barracks, and laid down the true principles on which they should be constructed; again in vain! He was first thwarted, and then stopped, by Lord Dalhousie and the military board of India.

"When he returned to England, and while suffering under a mortal disease, even on the verge of death, he once more attempted to remedy the evils, and in his posthumous work, called *Indian Misgovernment*, sought to arouse public attention to the horrible system.

"That he was not tame or measured in his denunciation of '*the frightful barrack abomination*' will be understood from a few passages taken from many in his *Indian Misgovernment*:—

"'The barrack sacrifices soldiers' lives and happiness to a fallacious, dishonest economy.

"'I charge the court of directors, the military board of Calcutta, the government of Bombay, with shameful negligence of the soldier's safety; and with good warrant, because they disregarded my representations when a high position and great experience gave a title to attention.

"'The Colaba barracks and king's barracks at Bombay have destroyed whole regiments. I walked through the men's sleeping rooms there—*upan planks laid in water, covering the floors!* At the Colaba barracks the soldiers die like rotten sheep under the nose of the council.

"'In the Bengal presidency the barracks are extremely bad; but more pernicious still is the number of men crammed into them; losses by battle sink to nothing, compared with those inflicted by improperly constructed barracks and the *jamming* of soldiers—no other word is sufficiently expressive.

"'Long experience and consultations with men of science, medical men, and engineer officers, have taught me that every barrack-room should in hot climates allow at least *one thousand cubic feet* of atmospheric air for each person sleeping in a room. This is the minimum; with less, insufferable heat and a putrid atmosphere prevail — death is the result. The soldiers rise at night feverish, or in profuse perspiration, to sleep out on the ground amid damp exhalations. To do so when heated by an overcrowded room is death. Some may escape, or merely lose health, but to escape is the exception—the rule is death!

"'This inhuman drain upon life, health, and the public treasury constantly goes on. It kills more soldiers than the climate, more than hard drinking, and one half of the last springs from the discomfort—the despair caused by bad barracks.'"

The above burning words have been too recently given to the world for very much effect to have been produced by them upon those whom they were designed to influence. Until the whole barrack system of India is remedied, the best relief to the soldier is frequent change, and this can only be effected by the extension of the railway system. But, however improved the sites and accommodation of barracks, the climate of most portions of India renders it desirable for the health of the English soldier, that he should not be for any long time subjected to its influence. The railway system will enable the government to remove invalids to the cooler districts, where they may retire for short intervals to recruit their exhausted strength.

One of the chief deficiencies in the military administration of India is the imperfect provisions of martial law. These are inadequate to the good discipline of the army, and, in case of extensive revolt or popular insurrection, their inadequacy is still more striking. During the revolt of 1857–8 Lord Canning, the governor-general, was much censured in England for not more promptly applying martial law to the disturbed districts, and for not relying more upon its power to suppress or prevent insurgency. These critiques were answered by his excellency with much point and justice, and in a manner which displays more completely the defects of the military system in this respect than would a lengthened statement and minute analysis of the laws bearing upon the subject. The governor-general's defence, based upon the imperfection of the system, was as follows:—

"But in truth measures of a far more stringent and effective character than the establishment of martial law were taken for the suppression of mutiny and rebellion.

"Martial law, in the ordinary acceptation of the phrase, is no law at all, or, as it has been described, the will of the general. But martial law in India is proclaimed under special regulations, applicable only to the regulation provinces in the three presidencies, whereby the government is empowered to suspend either wholly or partially the functions of the ordinary criminal courts, to establish martial law, and also to direct the immediate trial by courts-martial of all subjects who are taken—(1) in arms in open hostility to the British government; or (2) in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same; or (3) in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the state; or (4) in the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British government.

"Neither the effect of martial law, nor the mode in which courts-martial are to be constituted under the regulation has ever been defined. But it seems clear that courts-martial cannot be composed of any but military officers, for there is nothing in the regulation to show that courts-martial as therein described can be otherwise constituted.

"Moreover, it should be borne in mind that in Bengal, beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of the supreme court, there was no regulation which provided for the punishment of treason or rebellion, and that the Mohammedan law, which, in the absence of express regulation, constitutes the criminal law of the country, does not provide any specific punishment for such crimes. Regulation X. of 1804 rendered a person guilty of treason or rebellion liable to the punishment of death only in the event of his conviction before a court-martial; and even a court-martial under that regulation had no power to try for treason or rebellion unless the offender was taken in arms in open hostility to the British government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same, or in the actual commission of an overt act of rebellion.

"The power of trial by court-martial did not extend to persons guilty of rebellion unless taken in the actual commission of an overt act.

"Under these circumstances the government might have been much embarrassed had Indian martial law alone been relied upon; and seeing that the number of military officers at the disposal of the government was in many parts of the country wholly insufficient for the summary trial of mutineers and rebels, the government of India took a course much more effectual than the establishment of martial law. Having, first by Act No. VIII. of 1857, strengthened the hands of officers by giving them greater powers for the assembling of courts-martial, and by making the proceedings of those courts more summary, the government adopted measures which should give them the services not only of their own military and civil officers, but of independent English gentlemen not connected with the East India Company—indigo planters and other persons of intelligence and influence."

MARINE FORCE.

The East India Company maintains an independent navy, which is placed under the direct control of the government of India. The force attached to the chief presidency is not so important as that connected with the western presidency. The navy of Bengal is very limited, and is engaged in the eastern Archipelago and on the coasts of China. The acting officers have no commissions, and neither officers nor men are subject to the mutiny act or the articles of war. The Bombay navy is of considerable power, comprising fifty-three steam and sailing vessels, manned by 4286 European and native men. The cadets must not be under sixteen nor over eighteen years of age. The patronage is in the hands of the directors. The Bombay navy has been chiefly employed in the suppression of piracy in the Arabian Sea, and the Persian Gulf. It has of late years been principally occupied in surveying those waters, and several of the officers have greatly distinguished themselves by their attainments and performances in that department. The government of India does not regulate this marine, although its power is placed at the disposal of the governor-general. Correspondence is maintained by the navy with the government of India with reference to repairs, provided the expense does not exceed ten thousand rupees. In all other respects, such as ship-building, docks, steam factories, &c., the correspondence is with the directors. During former wars with China the Indian navy was greatly distinguished.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE IMPORTANCE OF A KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA BY GOVERNMENT OFFICERS—COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA.

The experience of the past history of our empire in India and the East shows that the importance of this subject has been greatly underrated. During the war with China, in 1857–8, the correspondents of the London press repeatedly testified that one of the greatest embarrassments consisted in the small number of persons, civil or military, at Lord Elgin's disposal, who were acquainted with the language. But for the missionaries, this deficiency would have proved a still greater difficulty both in the war of 1857, and in previous wars. During operations in Birmah, in all our differences with that power, the same impediment was felt; and although officers like Major-general Havelock, conversant with oriental tongues, were attached to all the expeditions, they could not always be spared from their posts in moments when, either for military or civil purposes, in some emergency, it was desirable to make their skill as linguists available. In the transactions of peace no less than in those of war the same inconvenience has been felt; and it is now generally admitted, that whatever amendments are made in the government or administration of India, civil or military, more attention must be paid on the part of the company's officers to the qualification of an extensive and accurate knowledge of the languages of our Eastern empire, and of contiguous countries, according to the particular official designation of these officers. In the arrangements made by Mr. Macaulay for the examinations for the civil service, there was an obvious eagerness to provide extra chances for the students of Oxford and Cambridge. The studies so disproportionately pursued at the universities—and so injuriously to the public usefulness of the pupils—were selected as superior tests of general proficiency, and of fitness for service in India. The study of the languages with which the young official ought to be conversant, to hold intercourse with the people of India, is held in a lower place in the examination than that of the dead languages of ancient Europe. An Indian civilian lately deplored the ignorance of oriental languages now so prevalent in India, and the tendency to perpetuate this ignorance by the present mode of examining for the civil service, in the following terms:—"In former times there were always (among the civilians particularly) a few eminent men who had acquired a thorough knowledge of the spoken dialects, who were familiar with the ancient literature and the various systems of religion of the country, and who had studied the national and religious prejudices of the natives in the very sources from which they flowed. These men—and we mention at random the names of Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, Macnaghten, Wilson, Sleeman, Mill—were respected and trusted by the natives, and they formed a kind of channel through which a knowledge of the real state of the feeling of the country with regard to any measure of importance could be obtained. The presence of any one of these men at Delhi or Lucknow would have been worth a regiment,—nay, many regiments. During the last twenty years, however, the prosecution of oriental studies has been systematically discouraged. A fond hope was entertained that English would soon become the general language of India, and an impression got abroad that the time given to the study of Arabic and Sanscrit and Hindostanee was sheer waste. At how much a knowledge of the languages of India was valued may be seen by the regulations now in force with regard to the examination of candidates for the Indian civil service. In the first examination a candidate may gain 375 marks by Sanscrit and Arabic. He may gain as many marks by Italian. In the second examination (which has simply been dropped without any bill of indemnity being asked for) a candidate may gain 200 marks by one of the vernacular languages. He may gain 1000 marks by law, 400 by political economy, 400 by the history of India. These facts speak for themselves."

In the very highest department of government a knowledge of both the old and modern tongues of India would be useful. The philosophy of a language gives an insight to the heart of the people by whom it is used, and this is essential to the statesman upon whom the responsibility of their government devolves. Sir Charles Trevelyan says—"I know from my Indian experience that a knowledge of the native languages is an indispensable preliminary to understanding and taking an interest in native races, as well as to acquiring their goodwill and gaining influence over them. Without it officers charged with important public affairs, feeling themselves at the mercy of a class of interpreters whose moral character is often of a very questionable kind, live in a state of chronic irritation with the natives, which is extremely adverse both to the satisfactory transaction of business and to the still more important object of giving to the people of the country a just impression of the character and intentions of our nation."

Long before the outbreak of the rebellion in India a gentleman, pointing out the dangerous neglect of the study of oriental languages, of Sanscrit in particular, wrote:—"A *crisis in the social, moral, and religious state of India may not be far distant*, and it will depend on the position which the Europeans scattered over that immense country may be able to take in controlling and directing that movement whether it is to lead to violent concussions or to a healthy regeneration. It is difficult to prove mathematically how so small a matter as the study of Sanscrit could have any bearing on the solution of such mighty problems; and those who look upon it as a kind of lightning-rod, and point to the clouds rising on the political and social horizon of India, expose themselves to be treated as alarmists, who exaggerate the danger in order to raise the importance of the remedy which they recommend."

A man need not have been in India to see that in order to govern a people, and to gain the confidence and goodwill of a conquered race, it is necessary to know their language. At a meeting held in Willis's Rooms, on the Missions of India, Sir William Page Wood gave utterance to the same conviction:—"Much might be done by bringing the English and native minds as much as possible in contact. This was comparatively easy, for the government might require that no native should take an office unless he could speak the English tongue, and that no Englishman in turn should be placed in a position of authority unless he was well acquainted with the native languages. Great good must undoubtedly arise from such a regulation."

In all ranks of the civil department below the highest, there are perpetually recurring occasions for an exact knowledge, not only of the vernacular language in the district, but of that from which it is derived, and some of those to which it is cognate. The attention of the public has been drawn to this subject, and the proposal to establish a new oriental college has sprung out of this awakened interest, and at the same time reacted upon it. The government also seems influenced by the general movement of opinion, and evidence has been taken from many men of eminence and extensive information on this class of subjects. Among the many channels into which the public discussion has flowed, is that of the value of Sanscrit, as the great parent of the languages of India, compared with its derivations, which are better known among the people. Sir C. E. Trevelyan has thus given his opinion upon this part of the controversy:—"Sanscrit is a key to the colloquial languages of India, and, what is of much greater importance, to the habits of thought, and the sources of the social, political, and religious institutions of the people; but this is only one part of the subject. The young men who have been selected for the civil service cannot be detained long in this country for the prosecution of professional studies; the elements of law have an equal claim upon their attention with the elements of the native languages; and the compact, symmetrical Sanscrit requires almost as close mental application as mathematics. The knowledge of that language which the young men would acquire in the limited time allotted to them would, therefore, rarely enable them to master its derivatives and command its literature; while by applying themselves in a direct manner to the vernacular languages (as young people learn Italian or Spanish without previously studying Latin) they might, with the invaluable aid of an European teacher, get through the drudgery of first principles, and prepare themselves to profit by the less systematic, but more idiomatic instruction of their moonshee and pandit on their arrival in India. The professorships which ought to be first established in the new oriental college, acording to my view, are Hindostanee and Bengalee for Northern, Tamil and Telinga for Southern, and Maharatti and Gujeratti for Western India, to which Chinese, Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish might afterwards be added, under such arrangements as the council of the college might consider desirable."

In connection with the necessity of knowing the languages of the country for general civil purposes, the question of the especial necessity of such qualifications for those who officiate in courts of law is increasingly discussed. Mr. Nassau Lees, Principal of the Mohammedan College in Calcutta, gives the following account of an Indian court of law:—"While the junior civil servant should be balancing in his mind the evidence of the witnesses, his whole attention is engrossed in endeavouring to understand what is being said. Few who have not seen it can realize the idea of a Bengalee native court; the din, the hubbub, the discordance of the many voices, Bengalee, English, and Hindostanee, is truly astounding. On the one side are heard the gentle tones of a mild Hindoo, pouring in soft suppliance his griefs, with accompanying promises, into the ear of some native *amlah.* On the other, the ear is assailed by the harshest language, often the most virulent abuse, bandied between two witnesses, or lookers on, apparently in the last stage of a violent altercation; and to this is added the unnecessary vociferations of some dozen policemen, who rush, gesticulating violently, to the spot, to increase the confusion. But above all rises the shrill cry of 'Mercy company! mercy! The slave is dead! he is dead!' from some miserable wretch who has been unjustly cast in the amount of some thirty or forty rupees, to gratify the revengeful feelings of a countryman on better terms than himself with the *sri-rishtahdar*, or native head clerk, who not improbably will have disposed of his good offices for one half the sum in dispute. Meanwhile, behold the assistant, the head of the petty court. Besieged by witnesses, beset alike by plaintiffs, defendants, and court officials all speaking at once—addressed, perhaps, in three, if not in four, native tongues—he sits confounded—bewildered. In vain he essays to comprehend the cause of the uproar; of what is said around him he cannot understand a sentence. Fain would he explain or proclaim silence; he cannot speak a word. Oh, that an iambic would still the storm, a quotation from Goethe or Dante, an aphorism of Bacon's, an explanation of d'Alembert's *Principle,* or the definition of a differential co-efficient! But, alas! such things here are of little practical use. The clamour increases. The distress of the assistant augments; until at last, his court in the highest disorder, and unable to right it, he rushes in confusion from his seat, vowing never to return till he can understand something at least of what is said to him, and say a few sentences intelligibly in some oriental language."

The importance of the languages of India to military men is beyond calculation; the safety of a garrison may depend upon this qualification on the part of its officers. A military man, who served in India, thus expresses his opinion as to the duty of cadets being well instructed in the vernacular languages of India before being sent thither:—"After the cadets have been selected, they ought, *all of them*, to have at least one year's professional instruction at a military college." One of the reasons for this is—"To teach them the elements of the native languages, which can be learnt with greater facility and exactness from well-instructed European professors than from moonshees and pandits." And again—"It should not be left, as it is at present, to the discretion of a young man whether he will pass in the native languages or not. The power of understanding his men and of rendering himself intelligible should be considered an indispensable qualification, and those who cannot or will not acquire the necessary accomplishment should be removed from the service. The office of regimental interpreter and the practice of interpreting at courts-martial should be abolished. Every officer should be presumed to understand the language of his soldiers."

THE FACILITIES OF COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA.

Facilities of communication between India and England are essential alike to the interests of commerce and the government. The British merchant desires to have a prompt and frequent transmission of information concerning the state of the markets, and such a rapid mode of conveyance between the two countries as will enable himself or his *employés* to visit India on occasions of emergency, or his agents there to come to England, when the transmission of intelligence is not sufficient for their mutual purposes.

The telegraph is of course the grand mode of conveying intelligence by summary; but notwithstanding the value of India to English commerce, and the exigencies of the government, no proper efforts have been made up to this date (May, 1858) to secure telegraphic lines from India to England. It has excited the astonishment of every government in Europe that England has neglected a matter so vital to her. The feeling of foreign governments and of British residents abroad was indicated in April, 1858, by the following letter to the *Times* from one of its foreign correspondents:—"It is of such vital importance to England that electric communication should be established between some point in Europe and Alexandria, that I must, at the risk of being considered an intolerable bore, again return to the subject. It is a matter of indifference whether the Austrians construct a submarine telegraph from Ragusa to Alexandria, or whether M. Bonelli lays down a wire between Malta and the last-mentioned city, but it appears to me that the representatives of the nation ought to take up the matter, and insist on her majesty's government coming to an immediate decision on the subject. No decisive step has yet been taken by England towards the realization of the plan for obtaining more speedy intelligence from India and China. The subject evidently occupies the attention of your Turin correspondent as much as it does mine, and his observation—that it might be good policy to encourage both Austria and Sardinia to construct an electric telegraph to Alexandria—deserves attention. As was said in my letter of the 20th of February, Austria would be content if the British government would pledge itself to send despatches to the amount of £10,000 per annum, and the assurance has since been given me that, in fact, she requires little more from England than her 'moral assistance.' The last official communication made to the Austrian cabinet was, that England could not permit Austria to have telegraph stations either at Corfu or Zante. Are the gentlemen in the Red-tape and Sealing-wax Office aware that an Austrian post-office has been established at Corfu for a long series of years, and that a great part of the correspondence from the East passes through it? 'We so much require the telegraphic communication,' say the Austrians, 'that we shall not object to employ Englishmen as telegraphists in Corfu and Zante, if the British government should wish it. We are also ready and willing to lay down the two links—from Trieste to Corfu and Zante—in the great electric chain, at our own expense and risk.' The authorities in the department of commerce have authorized me to state that if the British government should persist in its resolution not to allow them to establish stations in Corfu and Zante, they will permit any respectable English company, which is willing to construct the telegraph, to have an establishment at Trieste. The Turkish government is about to open a telegraphic communication with Greece, and that kingdom has already announced its intention to lay down a wire to Zante as soon as that island is brought into connection with Corfu and Trieste. It is worthy of mention that the director of the submarine telegraph office at Malta is a German; the principal clerk is a Dutchman, the second clerk an Ionian, and the fourth member of the establishment is either a Frenchman or an Italian."

For the transmission of mails provision has been recently made, which are great improvements upon the past condition of affairs in this matter. Weekly communication with India by post has been opened up through the Peninsula and Oriental Packet Company, *viâ* Gibraltar, Malta, and Alexandria.

The long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope in sailing transports injured the health of the troops, who were seldom allowed such accommodation as even a proper consideration of their necessities would have conceded. This route is still used, but powerful steamers are employed, which greatly reduce the time expended in transport.

The overland route by Suez was first adopted during the great revolt, when the government, with apparent reluctance, yielded to the pressure of public opinion, and negotiated with the Porte for permission to traverse the dominions of the Egyptian viceroyalty. A railroad has been at last completed across the isthmus; and should an electric telegraph cable be carried to India, both the speedy transmission of intelligence and orders, and the quick transit of reinforcements and *matériel* of war can be easily effected. Since the adoption of the overland route to India, the improvement in Egypt has been such as to impress profoundly the people and government of that country with the advantages of closer connection with England, and of becoming more imbued with the ideas and aspirations of English civilization. Decaying cities have become regenerated, a highway has appeared in the desert, the springs of industry and commerce have begun to act, and Egypt bids fair to become the ally of England, and the partaker of her material prosperity as well as the promoter of her renown.

Both the English and foreign public are, however, agitating other projects of great magnitude. One of these has for its champion M. de Lesseps, and is patronized by the French government. The public of France, and of a considerable portion of the continent of Europe, also favour this scheme; nor are there wanting English merchants and capitalists ready to engage in the undertaking. M. Thouvenel, the representative of the French emperor at the court of the sultan, made a formal application at the Porte for a firman permitting and encouraging the undertaking, which, in the spring of 1858, was definitively refused, the English Foreign-office having used all its influence against the application of M. Thouvenel. The scheme of M. de Lesseps is a ship canal across the Isthmus of Suez, ninety miles in length.* According to M. de Lesseps, this canal would answer the purposes of commerce and of travel, and can be executed and maintained profitably.† A sort of congress of engineers from various countries was brought together on the spot, and a report was drawn up in favour of the project, the elaboration and arrangement of which is indebted to the distinguished talents of Charles Manby, Esq., of the London Institution of Civil Engineers, a man singularly well qualified for such an undertaking. Notwithstanding this favourable report, British engineers of great experience and reputation have, however, declared the scheme impracticable, and among them the great Stephenson,* whose opinion weighs so much in England. The British government has uniformly opposed this plan, but not with that frankness and candour which became the importance of the subject; for at first the government pleaded that, the scheme being impracticable, it was a duty to save English capitalists from a ruinous speculation, but, when closely pressed, the chief minister, Lord Palmerston, in his place in parliament, avowed that the opening of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Suez would give France, as a Mediterranean power, too much influence in the East, and enable her, under certain contingencies, to thwart the views of England, and possibly to endanger her hold upon her Indian empire. The Earl of Derby's government, in 1858, opposed the scheme upon the same grounds as those urged by Lord Palmerston; and it was alleged that the Emperor Napoleon III. admitted that England was justified in receiving the scheme with national jealousy, although it would appear that, if such were his majesty's opinion, it did not interfere with his patronage of it, nor with the eagerness of his government to accomplish it, or see it accomplished. The determined refusal of the sultan to give his permission to make the canal extinguishes the project for the present; and unless French influence overpower that of England at Constantinople (at present not a probable event), the canalization of the Isthmus of Suez must be abandoned by France, however much she may believe it subservient to her political interests.

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* *New Facts and Figures relative to the Isthmus of Suez Canal.* Edited by Ferdinand de Lesseps. With a Reply to the *Edinburgh Review.* By Barthelemy St. Hilaire, Member of the Institute of France.

† *Parcement de l'Isthme de Suez—Rapport et Projet de la Commission Internationale.* Paris, Henry Plow, 1856.

The other scheme of communication with India, is by a railway from Seleucia to Bussorah, from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. The length of the line is so differently estimated, that it is impossible to form an opinion unless well acquainted with the country, and the engineering facilities and difficulties it presents. Mr. Andrews, the chairman of the Scinde Railway Company, who is the chief advocate of the enterprise, says that the distance is eight hundred miles. General Chesney, who knows the country better than any European (even than Mr. Andrews), states the distance from sea to sea to be six hundred and sixty miles. A French engineer, M. Jules Falkowski, whom Mr. Andrews quotes as giving an opinion in favour of the scheme, represents it as more than double the distance named by General Chesney! Such conflicting evidence on the part of persons so competent to pronounce an opinion baffles the judgment of the historian. This scheme is designated the "Euphrates Valley Railway." The objections taken against it are the great length of the line, the cost of its execution, and the improbability of its ever proving a line of traffic. These, however, are the objections raised against every enterprise of a similar nature by those interested in opposing it. The Turkish government favoured the plan, and guaranteed a dividend upon such capital as might be invested, but the financial condition of the Turkish government did not encourage capitalists to place sufficient confidence in its guarantee. That of the East India Company was desired to insure a thorough reliance, and the Board of Control is said to have pressed the directors to extend it. They, however, refused. The projectors of the plan required other guarantees, which practically amounted to the concession of a monopoly to their line. This circumstance shook the faith of those willing to speculate, as it implied that those who knew most of the circumstances under which the project would be carried out, did not dare to hope for success arising simply from its own adaptation to the ends proposed.*

Meanwhile the scheme of the Suez Canal is pursued with the uttermost zeal—a sort of passionate nationality seems to animate the French public.†

After all, it is likely that the completion of the railway across the isthmus, and the patronage of it by the English and Egyptian governments will decide this controversy, as well as bring India nearer to England.

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* In Nolan's continuation of Hume and Smollett's *History of England*, written by the author of this work, and now publishing by James S. Virtue, City Road, London, the opinion of this eminent engineer, and his grounds for it, will be fully shown.

* *Memoirs on the Euphrates Valley Route to India.* By W. F. Andrews, F.R.G.S.

† *L'Isthme de Suez—Journal de l'Union des Deux Mers.* Paris.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE COMMERCE OF INDIA:—ANCIENT INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WEST.

Although the natural productions of the vast regions of our Eastern empire were detailed when, in foregoing chapters, these countries were described, and the adaptation of those productions to the purposes of trade, and the character of the local transactions of this nature, were sketched, it remains yet to take a general view of the commerce of our Indian empire. Certainly no topic can be more important to a great commercial nation than its relations in this respect to the richest of its dependencies. In the prospectus of our work the purpose was expressed of giving to this subject especial attention; and had it not formed so essential a part originally of the plan of these volumes, yet its exceeding importance, as well as the interest attached to it, would demand a careful notice.

In treating of the productions, religions, and literature of India, well authenticated resources supplied comprehensive and satisfactory details. For the elucidation of its early intercourse with the West there exist no such materials. India shares the common fate of nations, the illustrious as well as the obscure. Which of its many races first occupied it, and what master minds initiated its social systems, the gradual development of its singular institutions, the first glimmerings of its far remote civilization, are mythic subjects of bewildering speculation. The extravagant claims to an existence extending over thousands of years beyond the era of creation, with the kindred absurdities of the Chinese, Babylonian, and Phœnician chronology, are now fully exposed by the reflected light of modern scientific discoveries.

The fables that commingle with the transactions of an infant people have their value; and those writers who fastidiously reject them from the domain of history, inflict upon it an irreparable injury. Many phases in the political life of a nation would, without a knowledge of them, be totally incomprehensible. They illustrate the origin, manners, habits, religion, and history of a people whose early transactions possess no medium of transmission but the traditional. What Heeren remarks of Grecian history is of general application:—"Though it emanated from tradition, and supplied the bards with subjects of song for several centuries, it does not follow hence that early Grecian history was an invention because it was poetical. The subjects of history, as presented by Grecian tradition and sung by the bards, were only interwoven with fictions, and so modelled as to gratify the national pride and adorn the popular religion."

Elphinstone, in his preliminary observations to his *History of India*, states:—"As the rudest nations are seldom destitute of some account of the transactions of their ancestors, it is a natural subject of surprise that the Hindoos should have attained to a high pitch of civilization without any work that at all approaches to the character of a history. The fragments which remain of the records of their transactions are so mixed with fable, and so distorted by a fictitious and extravagant system of chronology, as to render it hopeless to deduce from them any continued thread of authentic narrative."

The only history of any part of India he recognises is one of Cashmere, which, in his opinion, scarcely forms an exception. Sir John Stoddart (*Introduction to the Study of Universal History*) confirms this statement:—"Their (the Hindoos) writings are innumerable; but, alas! there is among them of works at all deserving the title historical, a perfect blank."

These statements, it would appear from other authorities, are but partially to be relied upon. Of published historical works India can lay claim to none, but the dearth of historical records is positively denied by Colonel Tod, who has given to the public a History of the Rajpoots, compiled from Indian manuscripts, which he found in the libraries of Indian princes; and he asserts that in these repositories many more works exist which would reward the researches of the learned; and that "the works of the native bards afford many valuable data in facts, incidents, religious opinions, and traits of manners." In the heroic history of Perthi-raf, by Chund, he adds:—"There occur many geographical as well as historical details in the description of his sovereign's wars, of which the bard was an eye-witness, having been his friend, his herald, and his ambassador, and finally discharged the melancholy office of accessory to his death, that he might save him from dishonour." The controversial records of the Jains are also repertories of rich historical stores; and with these the colonel classes the records, works of mixed historical and geographical character, *rasahs*, or poetical legends of princes which are common, local paranas, religious comments and traditionary couplets, with authorities of less dubious character—

namely, inscriptions cut on rocks, coins, copper-plate grants, containing chapters of immunities, and expressing many singular features of civil government—constitute no despicable materials for the historian. The colonel concludes that the ancient records of the Hindoos are more complete than the early annals of the European states.

The philological labours of the German school,—Grimms, Bopp, Zeus, and several other eminent Teutonic scholars,—aided by the Irish, French, and a few noteworthy Britons, prosecutors of Celtic researches, have supplied abundant undeniable proofs of the close affinities which subsist between the Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos, and the languages of ancient Greece and Rome, as well as those of the Celtic, Teutonic, and Sclavonic nations. These men have succeeded in placing the history of mankind in a more intelligible point of view, and possibly the study of Indian literature will enable us to evolve from its drapery of fiction the truths contained in the *rasahs* and *paranas*, to trace the remote history of India, and to reflect an ethnological as well as a philological light on the relations the varieties of the human family bear to one another, and supply an additional and powerful argument for connecting the origin of its inhabitants with that of the other parts of the globe.

Both Brahmins and Buddhists have numerous books. The Brahminical are extremely voluminous, and all written in the Sanscrit, which, from time immemorial, has ceased to be a spoken language. The prevalent opinion is that it was never fully known in India, except to the sacerdotal caste, and the alphabetic character in which it was written differed from all other alphabets. So rigidly did the Brahmins conceal their sacred books, that their existence was not known to European scholars till recently. Cœlius Rhodiginus, the teacher of the celebrated Scaliger, the contemporary of Henry VIII., asserts that letters were entirely unknown to the Indians. The sacred books are no longer sealed books; they abound in libraries, public and private, and several have been translated into English, and other modern languages, and many published. In all probability, the day is not far distant when the anticipations of that great oriental linguist, Professor Wilson, will be realized, and the texts of the Vedas themselves, despite the exclusive care with which they have been guarded from any but Brahminical perusal, and the difficulties in the way of interpretation, will be read with as much certainty as any other Sanscrit composition, and the adage, that Hindoo antiquities can only be satisfactorily explored in India itself, which Heeren reiterates, shall become obsolete.

To whatever extent, and however valuable, may be the materials for the history of ancient India which exist in native archives, the historian of that interesting empire would at present in vain seek aid in that quarter. The earliest ray of light that flickers on its visible existence, is shed by the sacred text, and the knowledge to be there gleaned is very limited—indeed, merely conjectural. The river Euphrates, and the territories immediately to the east of its banks, were, to the comprehension of the Jews, "the ends of the earth."*

The extensive caravan routes, to which the books of the Old Testament directly refer, pursued at an early period for the conveyance, from the East to the kingdoms of the West, of the rich manufactures of that opulent region seem to have been formed for the exportation of Indian produce. There are strong grounds for concluding, as Dr. Vincent has observed, that the embroidered work and the chests of rich apparel mentioned in the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel,—pronounced by Michaelis the most ancient monument of mercantile history,—as brought from Haran, Canneh, and other towns on the Euphrates, were not manufactured on the confines of that stream, but in all probability imported from the more distant countries of Eastern Asia; and that the supplies, of which "precious cloths" constituted the staple, conveyed across Arabia by way of Dedan and Idumea, were likewise a branch of Indian commerce. The ingenious author of the *Ruins of Palmyra*, on the sixteenth verse of the chapter just referred to,—"Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making; they occupied in the fairs with emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen, and coral, and agate,"—supposes that it was the East Indian trade which so enriched that city, and he imagines that this was at least as ancient as the time of Solomon. Tyre, therefore, it is suggested, might have had these commodities conveyed to it in the time of the prophet Ezekiel through Palmyra, and Syria might have been its merchant for them. To the monopoly of this trade there are many considerations for attributing the power, unrivalled in extent, wealth, and degree, which Tyre early acquired, and which made the "merchants of Tyre princes, and her traffickers the honourable of the earth,"† and herself "the mart of nations."‡

The proximity of that great emporium of the earth, Tyre, "whose antiquity," the prophet Isaiah informs us, "is of ancient days," * for a lengthened period gave no impulse to the national enterprise of the Jews, nor affected that isolation which the characteristics of its policy had imposed. In the reigns of David and his son Solomon, tempted by the extraordinary prosperity of their neighbours, and encouraged, probably, by the friendship of King Hiram, and the recent acquisition by David of a tract of Edom, † and the ports Eloth and Eziongeber on the Red Sea, they equipped a fleet, which, under the pilotage of the Phœnicians, reached Tarshish and Ophir. The situation of these ports has been at all times a puzzle to the biblical commentators, and to writers on geography. Dean Prideaux, and many other respectable authorities, agree that the trade carried on under Solomon, is the same as that which is now in the hands of our East Indian merchants. Some suppose Ophir to be the Island of Ceylon. This supposition is thus far confirmed, that an ancient author, Eupolemus, states Ophir to be an island. On the other hand, the authors of the *Universal History* deem it the most probable conjecture that Ophir was in one of those remote rich countries of India beyond the Ganges, and perhaps as far as China or Japan, which last still abounds with the finest gold, and with several other commodities, in which Solomon's fleet dealt. A claim in favour of Sumatra has been made by Mr. Macdonald, who says, "It is more than probable that Sumatra must have been the Ophir of Solomon's time. This conjecture receives no small force from the word *ophir* being really a Malay noun of a compound sense, signifying a mountain containing gold. The natives have no oral or written tradition on the subject, except that the island has in former times afforded gold for exportation; whether to the eastward or westward remains an uncertainty." ‡ Dr. Robertson, in reply to these and similar pretensions, asserts that "they (Tarshish and Ophir) were early supposed to be situated in some part of India, and the Jews were held to be one of the nations which traded with that country. But the opinion more general adopted is, that Solomon's fleets, after passing the Straits of Babelmandel, held their course along the south-west coast of Africa as far as the kingdom of Sofala—a country celebrated for its rich mines of gold and silver, from which it has been denominated the golden Sofala, by oriental writers, and abounding in all the other articles which composed the cargoes of the Jewish ships. This opinion, which the accurate researches of M. d'Anville render highly probable, seems now to be established with the utmost certainty by a late learned traveller, who, by his knowledge of the monsoons in the Arabian Gulf, and his attention to the ancient mode of navigation, both in that sea and along the African coast, has not only accounted for the extraordinary length of time which the fleets of Solomon took in going and returning, but has shown, from circumstances mentioned concerning the voyage, that it was not made to any place in India.* The Jews, then, we may conclude, have no title to be reckoned among the nations which carried on intercourse with India by sea; and if, from deference to the statements of some respectable authors, their claims were to be admitted, we know with certainty that the commercial effort, which they made in the reign of Solomon, was merely a transient one, and that they quickly returned to their former seclusion from the rest of mankind." † The name has very recently been traced to a city in Oman. Not fewer than sixteen countries have been claimed as sites for Ophir. Of all these conjectures, that which seems most founded on probability, and is corroborated by the authority of the *Bible Cyclopædia*, ‡ is that of Dr. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, who is of opinion that it was on the eastern coast of Africa, and termed by the Arabians Zanguebar; that the name Ophir was more particularly given to the small country of Sofala on the same coast; that Solomon's fleet went out from the Red Sea, and, doubling Cape Guardafui, coasted along Africa to Sofala, where was found in abundance whatever was brought to the Hebrew monarch by this voyage. After all this laboured and learned speculation, the precise situation of Ophir, it is to be apprehended, must ever remain a mere conjecture.

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* Heeren's *Historical Researches*.

† Isaiah xxiii. 8

‡ Ibid. xxiii. 3.

The admirable location of the Mediterranean Sea, watering countries the most fertile, the theatres of the earliest civilization stretching far inward, and all but land-bound, with a comparatively small outlet to the ocean, it was natural that those who dwelt upon its shores should be the first to hazard the perils of the deep, to master the navigation of their own waters, and ultimately command the commerce of three continents. Noting in their night adventures the star-lit paths which steered them clear of shoals, hidden rocks, and precipitous banks, they became as familiar with the heavenly orbs, as did the Chaldean shepherds, and thus nursed the kindred sciences, astronomy and navigation, cultivating them to the highest state of perfection possible, without the aid of modern instruments, preparing for those astounding discoveries of later times, the noblest achievements of the human intellect.

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* Isaiah xxiii. 7.

† 2 Samuel viii. 14.

‡ *Asiatic Journal.*

* Bruce's *Travels in the East*, b. II. chap. iv.

† Robertson's *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India.*

‡ Vol. ii. p. 967, article *Ophir.*

On the southern shores of that sea—washed on the east by the Red Sea, and connected with Asia by the narrow neck of land called the Isthmus of Suez, confined on each side by vast regions of barren sand, scarcely inhabited or habitable, and doomed to perpetual sterility and desolation—flourished Egypt, "the land of marvels," blessed with a luxuriant soil and a mild climate, producing the necessaries and comforts of life in such profusion, that several modern as well as ancient historians have hazarded the bold assertion, that its inhabitants were independent of the productions of other countries, and, in fact, that among them it became a maxim of policy to repudiate all intercourse with foreigners, to hold all seafaring men in abhorrence, and to exclude all strangers from their ports. These statements are endorsed by the historian Dr. Robertson, and he draws from them another conclusion—that the alleged conquests of the Egyptian monarch Sesostris were inventions of the Egyptian priests, and from that source obtained by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. The doctor thus states his case:—"Credulity and scepticism are two opposite extremes into which men are apt to run in examining the events which are said to have happened in the earlier ages of antiquity. Without incurring any suspicion of a propensity to the latter of these, I may be allowed to entertain doubts concerning the expedition of Sesostris into India, and his conquest of that country.—1. Few facts in ancient history seem to be better established *than that of the early aversion of the Egyptians to a seafaring life.* Even the power of despotism cannot at once change the ideas and manners of a nation, especially when they have been confirmed by long habit, and rendered sacred by the sanction of religion. That Sesostris, in the course of a few years, should have so entirely overcome the prejudices of a superstitious people, as to be able to fit out four hundred ships of force in the Arabian Gulf, besides another fleet which he had in the Mediterranean, appears to be extremely improbable. Armaments of such magnitude would require the utmost efforts of a great and long-established power.—2. It is remarkable that Herodotus, who inquired with the most persevering diligence into the history of Egypt, and who received all the information concerning it which the priests of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes, could communicate, although he relates the history of Sesostris at some length, does not mention his conquest of India. That tale, it is probable, was invented in the period between the age of Herodotus and that of Diodorus Siculus, from whom we receive a particular detail of the Indian expedition of Sesostris. His account rests entirely upon the authority of the Egyptian priests; and Diodorus himself not only gives it as his general opinion 'that many things which they related flowed rather from a desire to promote the honour of their country than from attention to truth,' but takes particular notice that the Egyptian priests, as well as the Greek writers, differ widely from each other in the accounts which they give of the actions of Sesostris.—3. Though Diodorus asserts that, in relating the history of Sesostris, he had studied to select what appeared to him most probable, and most agreeable to the monuments of that monarch still remaining in Egypt, he has admitted into his narrative many marvellous circumstances which render the whole extremely suspicious."* He then proceeds to quote some of these suspicious circumstances, in corroboration of his author's veracity.

The authority of such a man as the eminent historian of Charles V. and of America, will always be deservedly held in great respect in the republic of letters, and if he thought the subject of such gravity as to challenge his investigation, a further prosecution of that inquiry may be tolerated. Indeed, the question is one of sufficient historical importance, for its affirmative solution will establish the earliest direct documentary evidence of the exercise of Western domination in India, and identify a point of view from which the foreign relations, military as well as commercial, of ancient Egypt may be considered.

Then, as to the first objection. Had the Egyptians such an aversion to seafaring life as to preclude them from all naval pursuits? The Egyptian records and monuments state that thirty dynasties, some consecutive, many contemporaneous, possessed kingly power, extending from the reign of Mênês, B.C. 2717, to the conquest by Alexander the Great, B.C. 230. The name of Sesostris has been found in hieroglyphics in the Ramiseum of El Kurneh †, and in hieratic characters in the royal Turin papyrus.‡ Whatever prejudices may have existed amongst the Egyptians to the cultivation of commercial relations, they certainly did not prevail at every period of its history. The first mention in holy writ of Egypt is in connexion with foreign commerce,—and that in the products of India :—"And, behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt."* Here, upon opening the oldest history in the world, at a period 1729 years B.C., we find, as Dr. Vincent remarks, the Ishmaelites conducting a caravan loaded with spices of India, the balsam and myrrh of Hadramant, and in the regular course of their traffic proceeding to Egypt for a market; and notwithstanding the *antiquity of the transaction*, it has all the genuine features of a caravan crossing the desert at the present hour. Hence the inference is obvious, that Egypt then had become what it is always recorded to have been—the centre of a most extensive commerce by land, and, through the agency of the camel, the "ship of the desert," as the Arab emphatically calls him. On some of the oldest monuments of Egypt are groups of foreigners, proving the then existing intercourse. On the rock inscriptions of Wadee-el-Magarah, in the peninsula of Sinai, Num-Shufu, or Saphis the first, is represented slaying a foreigner. This monarch is the Cheops to whom Herodotus ascribes the building of the great pyramid, he ruled over 2300 years before the Christian era. It is in his reign we find the first reliable contemporary monuments of which the dates are satisfactorily ascertained. The probability is that the earliest is the northern pyramid of Aboo-Seer. These monuments are exceedingly numerous, and, thanks to the persevering ingenuity of our contemporaries, who have supplied a key to the reading of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, afford us far better knowledge of the state of Egypt in those remote times, than is supplied by the scanty fragments of Manetho, Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus. A tablet, which may be pronounced the most interesting of the Egyptian monuments, was discovered at Waldee Halfeh, in Nubia, near the second cataract, recording the triumph of Sesertesen I. over foreign tribes, probably Ethiopians. The Egyptians must at this early period (B.C. 2080) have extended their rule far into Nubia. Sesertesen, it is reasonable to suppose, is identical with the Sesostris of the Greeks. At or about this last-mentioned date Egypt became the prey of invaders, and the fifteenth dynasty was established. The Egyptians call them shepherds (*Penu* or Phœnicians). For several centuries—Africanus states 953 years—and through three dynasties, the shepherd kings ruled Egypt. Is it probable that the Phœnicians would abstain from commercial pursuits, and surrender all the advantages derivable from naval enterprise? On the tomb of Elethyas, in the reign of Aahmes, the Amôs or Amôsis of Manetho, B.C. 1525, is a long inscription of one Aahmes, chief of the mariners, who served several of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty. The inscription mentions a war at sea or on the river, and particularizes the famous shepherd city Avaris, and relates that the king made in his sixth year an expedition by water to Ethiopia, to impose tribute.* The immediate successors of the last-named monarch were as potent at least as he. The representations in the chambers of the great temple of Amen-ra-el-Karnak, at Thebes, show that Amenoph I. was successful in war against the Ethiopians, as well as against Asiatics. In the next reign the arms of Egypt were carried into Mesopotamia, and into Ethiopia also.† Tothmes III. penetrated as far as Nineveh; and Amenoph, the third in descent from him, has left a distinct record of the extent of his dominions,—that they had Neherena—Mesopotamia—for their northern, and Keluce or Kelue—probably Coloe—as their southern boundary.‡ That Syria, east of Europe, owned his sway, and a very great part of Ethiopia, is proved by monumental inscriptions: Eusebius, Manetho, and Syncellus (in his Catalogue of Egyptian kings), state that "the Ethiopians, migrating from the river Indus, came and dwelt near Egypt." The sculptures of a rock temple at Silsilis—Gebel-es-Silseleh—commemorate a successful expedition against the negroes.§ The reign of Rameses II., B.C. 1200, was also signalized by foreign wars, furnishing an illustrious proof of the naval prowess of ancient Egypt. The most distinguished of these was, perhaps, that which he swayed against "the Kairetana of the Sea," and "the Tokaree," probably the Cretans and Carians, who, anterior to the Homeric period, are reported to have been great maritime powers, a fact strangely confirmed, and their decadence accounted for, by this chapter of Egyptian story. Over these combined fleets he achieved a signal victory. This sea fight forms the subject of one of the most remarkable battle scenes which adorn the great temple of Medeenat Haboo.‖

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* Robertson's *Researches*, p. 5.

† Lepsius, *Denkmäler*.

‡ *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. ii. p. 262.

There is no fact of remote antiquity better substantiated than that Egypt, by her many victories by land and sea, had subjected several maritime peoples on the Mediterranean, and that all the countries lying on its eastern confines were reduced to obedience, or compelled to pay tribute to the Pharaohs.

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* Genesis xxxvii. 25.

* Champollion, *Lettres*, pp. 197, 198; and De Rongé, *Tombeau d'Aahmes*.

† Lepsius, *Denkmäler*.

‡ Rosillini, *Monumenti Storici*, No. XLIX.

§ Ibid., No. XLIV.

‖ Ibid., No. CXXXI.

Psammeticus, who possessed the throne B.C. 664, was on the most friendly terms with the Phœnicians and Greeks, and, in addition, encouraged them to trade with his subjects. His son, Pharaoh Neko, who succeeded him B.C. 610, and who, at Megiddo, defeated and slew Josiah, the King of Judah, although engaged in wars of great magnitude, did not neglect the commercial interests of his country. He either commenced the construction of a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, or attempted to remove the obstructions to navigation in one previously cut. He also maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea, and to him, as Herodotus relates, is to be attributed the circumnavigation of Africa. Amases, the contemporary of Cyrus the Great and Crœsus, B.C. 571, was enabled, by his powerful fleet, to subjugate Cyprus, and make it tributary.

The old traditions concerning the relations which existed between the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Greeks, for a period of two thousand years, attributed to the inordinate vanity and reckless assumption of the historians of the last-mentioned people, and classed with their myths, are verified by the contemporary memorials, preserved by the granite tablets lately made legible, amid the ruin of dynasties, and the alternations of greatness and degradation. That the Egyptians had, centuries anterior to the Trojan war, established colonies, rests on stronger grounds than assertion; and from this, and similar instances elucidated by the labours of Belzoni, Champollion, Young, Wilkinson, and Layard, historians may learn that the traditions of a people, however obscure they may be rendered by poetical embellishments, are not to be rejected as entirely unworthy of consideration. A preserved tradition, like a preserved fossil fragment of an extinct animal, may, after the accumulation of a body of facts, lead the comparative historian, as well as the comparative anatomist, to the construction of a whole,—the verity of which may be fully established by the subsequent discovery of a scientific explorer, or by some lucky accident.

The settlement of Egyptian and Phœnician colonies in Greece may be now recognized as established facts. The period of these emigrations extended from the middle of the nineteenth to the close of the seventeenth century before Christ, during the sway of the shepherd kings—Phœnicians. That Cadmus, a Phœnician, introduced letters into illiterate Greece—that Hellenic art presents evident traces of Egyptian influence—that the earliest specimens of Greek pottery are formed on Egyptian models, and rich in Egyptian designs—that ancient sages of Athens, Sparta, and other Hellenic localities sojourned in Egypt,—in the light of recent historical discoveries, cease to be looked upon as the dreams of early romancers. Were the ancient Egyptians strangers to the sea, how possibly could they have colonized Greece?

There are several instances of later date which might be adduced in proof of the inference advocated, but enough has been said to show,—however jealous the Egyptians may occasionally have been of strangers,—from the earliest times, long anterior to the Ptolemies—to whom the rise of their naval power has been attributed — they cultivated foreign traffic, admitted strangers to the interior, waged distant wars, and maintained large naval armaments.

The silence of Herodotus as to the conquest of India by Sesostris, on which Robertson so much relies, is not presumptive evidence of the falsity of the statement of Diodorus Siculus and others; nor does it follow, from the statement of Herodotus, that "he had inquired with the most persevering diligence into the ancient history of Egypt, and had received all the information concerning it which the priests of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes, could communicate." What the Greek historian mentions by no means confirms the general and positive deductions drawn from it. Here follows the passage from which this quotation is made:—"This relation," referring to an absurd tale which he justly ridicules, "I had from the priests of Vulcan at Memphis. But the Greeks tell many other foolish things, &c. I heard other things also at Memphis in conversation with the priests of Vulcan, and on this very account I went also to Thebes, and to Heliopolis, in order to ascertain whether they would agree with the accounts given at Memphis; for the Heliopolitans are esteemed the most learned in history of all the Egyptians." The narration which he gives of the expedition of Sesostris, seems to imply that the priests recorded the conquests of India among his exploits. "The priests said that he [Sesostris] was the first who, setting out in ships of war from the Arabian Gulf, subdued these nations that dwell by the Red Sea, until, sailing onwards, he arrived at a sea which was not navigable on account of the shoals; and afterwards, when he came back to Egypt, according to the reports of the priests, he assembled a large army, and marched through the continent, subduing every nation that he fell in with, and wherever he met with any who were valiant, and who were very ardent in defence of their liberty, he erected columns in their territories, with inscriptions, declaring his own name and country, and how he had conquered them by his power; but when he subdued any cities without fighting, and easily, he made inscriptions on the columns in the same way as among the nations that had proved themselves valiant. Thus doing he traversed the continent, until, having crossed from Asia into Europe, to these (the Scythians and Thracians) the Egyptian army appears to *me* to have reached and no farther, for in their country the columns appear to have been erected, but nowhere beyond them." * The mention of the latter fact appears to be a justification for his scepticism as to the more extended conquests claimed for Sesostris. Further on he states, "This king then was the only Egyptian who ruled over Ethiopia"—a generic term, from Homer downwards, for all the swarthy nations of the East. Among the writers of Greece and Rome there is not a more painstaking historian than Diodorus Siculus: and though he wanted the higher qualities of an historian, his materials were selected with skill and assiduity; nor was he reckless as to the narratives which he extracted from the Egyptian records; he introduces his account of Sesostris in these words:—"But not only the Greek writers differ among themselves about this king, but likewise the Egyptian priests and poets relate various and conflicting stories of him; our best efforts shall be directed to select what is truth-like, and conformable with the monuments still existing in Egypt." †

The scepticism with which the achievements of the great Egyptian conqueror, as well as his identity, have been treated, and, in addition, the fact that he is the first of the conquerors of India of whom the Western traditions and historical monuments make mention, justify the space devoted to him, though this identification of the man, and his relations with the East, do not furnish authentic materials for a page of Indian history.

The early education which it is reported Sesostris received, somewhat similar to the training which Xenophon relates was adopted in the education of Cyrus, developed fully his mental and physical powers; and a large body of young men—his coevals, in fact, born on the same day—were bred up with him, and subjected to the same discipline. Daily converse and association strengthen mutual attachment, and the Egyptian prince was thus surrounded by a body-guard, active, brave, and devoted, willing to serve, and prepared to command. His first expedition, it is related, was in command of an army sent by his father for the conquest of Arabia. He succeeded, and subjected to the Egyptian yoke the fierce warriors of the desert, who never before owned a master. In this campaign he was accompanied by his youthful playmates. On his return, he was dispatched against the Lybians, whose territories lay on the western frontiers of Egypt. Though yet only a stripling, he subjugated the greatest part of that country. Coming to the crown on the demise of his father, and encouraged by his successes on the east as well as the west, his ambition was fired with the proud hope of conquering the world. As the basis of his success, he first devoted his attention to inspire his people with feelings of love and admiration, and adopted means which, when employed by a youthful sovereign, never fail of realizing such results. He secured the allegiance of his subjects in his absence, and bound the soldiery firmly to his interests. The army he is said to have raised was commensurate with the magnitude of the undertaking. It amounted to six hundred thousand foot, twenty-four thousand horse, and twenty-seven thousand chariots of war; and to the respective commands he appointed those who had been educated with him, to the number of seventeen hundred. The marshaled hosts which Sardanapalus, Darius, Xerxes, and other ancient conquerors, brought into the field, reconcile to us the probability of this large force. Before Sesostris directed his course eastward, he marched against the Southern Ethiopians, whom he chastised. After that he dispatched a fleet of four hundred ships of war to the Red Sea, and subdued all the islands in it, and the maritime nations which extended from it as far as India. At the head of his land army he conquered all the nations of Asia—not alone those which Alexander the Great subsequently reduced, but likewise those on which he never set foot, "for he crossed the Ganges, and penetrated the whole of India, even to the ocean." * Nine years, the historians state, were spent in this expedition.

Whatever degree of credibility may be attachable to this narrative, it deserves a place in the history of ancient India. Many of the most questionable statements of the ancient historians have been unexpectedly verified by the results of modern research. There is one illustration corroborative of this, which may be pertinently introduced here, which occurs in Herodotus's description of India, apparently the most puerile and ludicrously imaginative of what were for centuries designated the fables of the "lying Greeks:"—"There are other Indians living near the city of Caspatyras and the country of Pactyica [the city and territory of Cabul], situated to the north of the rest of the Indian nations, resembling the Bactrians, their neighbours, in their manner of life. These are the most warlike of all the Indians, and the people who go to procure the gold; for the neighbourhood of this nation is a sandy desert, in which are ants, less in size than dogs, but larger than foxes, specimens of which are to be seen in the palace of the King of Persia, having been brought from that country. These creatures make themselves habitations under ground, throwing up the sand like the ants in Greece, which they nearly resemble in appearance. The sand, however, consists of gold-dust. To procure this, the Indians make incursions into the desert, taking with them three camels,—a male one on each side, and a female in the centre, on which the rider sits, taking care to have one that recently foaled. When, in this manner, they come to the place where the ants are, the Indians fill their sacks with the sand, and ride back as fast as they can, the ants, as the Persians say, pursuing them by the scent, the female camel, eager to rejoin her young one, surpassing the others in speed and perseverance. It is thus, according to the Persians, that the Indians obtain the greater part of their gold; at the same time that the metal is also found in mines, though in less quantities."* Heeren, in his *Historical Researches*, strips the passage of its seeming absurdities, and places the cautious accuracy of the information, as well as the veracity of the father of history, in its proper light. His comments are:—"Herodotus has so accurately marked the situation of these auriferous deserts, that it is impossible to be mistaken. The nation in whose neighbourhood they are situated 'live near to Bactria and Pactyica, to the north of the other Indians,' and consequently among the mountains of Thibet or Little Bokhara; and the desert in their vicinity can be no other than that of Cobis, which is bounded by the mountains of the above countries. There is no doubt that the account of the historian is applicable to this region." We have already remarked that the lofty chain of mountains which limit the desert is rich in veins of gold; and not only the rivers which flow westward, from Great Bokhara, but the desert streams which run from the east, and lose themselves in the sand. Besides, who knows not that the adjacent country, Thibet, abounds in gold sand? Nor can we be surprised if, at the present day, the rivers in question should be less abundant than formerly in that metal, as must always be the case, when it is not obtained by the process of mining, but washed down by a stream. As late, however, as the last century gold sand was imported from this country by the caravans travelling to Siberia; and under Peter the Great this gave occasion to abortive attempts to discover the supposed El Dorados, which were not without some beautiful results for the service of geography, though utterly unprofitable for the purposes of finance. That these were not ants, but a larger species of animal, having a skin, is apparent not only from the account of Herodotus, but from that of Megasthenes, in Arrian (*India*, O.P., p. 179), who saw their skins, which he describes as being larger than those of foxes. The Count von Veltheim, in his *Sammelung einiger Aufsatze*, vol. ii. p. 268, &c., has started the ingenious idea that the skins of the foxes (*Canis corsa*, Linn.), found in great abundance in this country, were employed in the washing of gold, and which, as they burrow in the earth, may have given rise to the fable. Bold as this conjecture may appear, it deserves to be remarked, as it is in perfect agreement with what we know of the natural history of the country. In corroboration of the view Heeren has taken, it may be added, that it is a common practice in Savoy to use the skins of animals in washing gold sand. In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,* Mr. Lane describes the simple mode pursued by the Birmese in collecting the gold-dust of the *Kyenduen* River, by fixing the horns of a peculiar species of wild cow in the small streams coming from the hills, to entangle the gold-dust in the velvet or hairy coat with which the young horns are enveloped. The horns, he was informed, were sold, with the gold-dust and sand adhering to them, for twelve or thirteen ticals apiece. It is by no means improbable that in the gold streams north of the Himalayas whole fleeces of some small animal were employed for the same purpose, and were occasionally sold entire. In a raid upon a people who thus collected their gold in all probability originated the well-known tale of Jason. The existence of Sesostris can be no longer questioned. His identity is now established by the many and various monuments within and without Egypt; nor are the performance of the exploits attributed to him improbable, when the demonstrated power of the Egyptian monarchy was so great, and in an age when there existed no great empire from the waters of the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf to the banks of the Indus—perhaps not even the Ganges.

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* Herodotus, b. II. chaps. cii., ciii. See Cary's Translation, Bohn's Classical Library.

† Diodorus Siculus, b. I. chap. xliii.

* Καὶ γὰρ τὸν Γάγγη ποταμὸν διεβη, καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν επῆλθε πᾶσαν εωσ Ωκεανοῦ.—Diodorus Siculus, b. I. c. 43.

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* Herodotus.

* Vol. i. p. 16.

The Phœnicians are the next of the Western states whom we find recorded in commercial communication with India. Many causes have conspired to intercept the transmission of their history. Had it descended in its entirety to us, what a light would be reflected on the obscurity in which the first civilization that beamed on Europe is involved!—a civilization whose lustre, probably, would not be lost in the halo which encircled that of Greece. The fragments of their history—derived from Sanchoniato, some of the Hebrew writers, particularly Ezekiel, the Greek historians, Josephus, Eusebius, &c.—supply a general outline.

Though precedence has been given in this chapter to Judæa and Egypt, it is not in consequence of the belief that their relations with India were of an earlier date, but we were influenced by the consideration that the historical records of those countries are of greater antiquity. Phœnicia was the medium of communication between them and the East. Through her agency the abundance of the East was scattered over the West. The geographical features of the country combined with the character of its inhabitants to make them a maritime people. Phœnicia was neither extensive nor fertile; it lay on the borders of a sea whose placid waters were studded with islands teeming with luxuriant produce, and whose northern shores were the seaboard of the productive districts of Asia Minor. Its political institutions were favourable to the nurture of an independent and enterprising spirit. It did not constitute one state, or at least one empire; it was composed of a combination of several. It presented a social aspect kindred to, if not identical with, all Celtic nations—such as ancient Gaul presented, and was to be seen in the clans and septs of Scotland and Ireland, and in England, ere the Roman invader pressed its soil. The clans were all bound in one great confederation, acknowledging a common chief. Tyre, from its position as chief city, and the emporium of nations, stood at the head. It has been remarked by Dr. Robertson, "that both in their manners and their policy they resemble the great commercial states of modern times more than any people in the ancient world."* Among them the art of navigation was earnestly cultivated; in naval dexterity and skill they were unrivalled; and no nation of antiquity could lay claim to the same spirit of adventurous enterprise. With the tin which they brought from the far isles of the West—the British Isles—were in all probability manufactured the bosses and ornaments of the shields borne by the combatants of Troy, as also the greaves they wore and the cups they quaffed, while by them were poured far westward the rich and voluptuous products of Indian climes. They not only monopolized the trade of nations near and remote; they likewise spread themselves by the establishment of colonies, and of these some, particularly Carthage, rivalled the parent states in wealth, trade, and power. At a very early period Phœnician colonies were planted in the favoured isles of the Archipelago, from which they were subsequently ejected by the conquering Greeks. Tartessas, Gades, and Carteia, under their auspices, flourished in Southern Spain; Utica, Carthage, and Adrumetum, on the northern coast of Africa; Panormus and Lylibeum, on the north-western coast of Sicily. The traditions and early annalists of Ireland state that they colonized that island. They had settlements, in all probability, in the Persian Gulf, on the Islands of Tylos and Aradus. In truth, as navigators, they were the boldest, the most experienced, and the greatest discoverers of ancient times, and for many ages had no rivals. They not only were the transporters of the merchandize of other nations, they were also manufacturers. The glass of Sidon, the purple of Tyre, and the fine linen they exported, were their own inventions; and they were deservedly celebrated for their extraordinary skill in working metals, in hewing timber and stone, and for their architectural excellence. Their fame for taste, design, and execution, was so well established, that whatever was elegant, great, or pleasing in apparel, vessels, toys, was distinguished by the epithet *Sidonian*. Many other important discoveries, among which the invention of letters holds the first rank, are attributed to them. Had we not before us the millions of colonists whose paternity is due to the British Isles, the vast colonial territories thus peopled, the regions thus occupied, it would be questioned how little more than a slip of land, confined between Mount Lebanon and the sea, could pour forth such supplies of people without depopulation. From Eloth to Eziongeber, ports situated at the northern extremity of the Arabian Gulf, they undertook, in connection with the Jews, the voyage to Ophir, previously referred to, and extended their commerce from the Persian Gulf to the western peninsula of India and the Island of Ceylon. The most remarkable of their geographical discoveries was the cir-

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* *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 7.

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cumnavigation of Africa. The probability is mentioned of their having had a land communication with China, in consequence of their trade through Palmyra with Babylon, which opened to them an indirect path by way of Persia to Lesser Bokhara and Little Thibet. Dr. Robertson asserts that among the various branches of Phœnician commerce that with India may be regarded as one of the most lucrative.[*] The distance between the Arabian Gulf and Tyre rendered the carriage of goods by land both tedious and expensive. The Phœnicians, to obviate these impediments to trade, occupied Rhinocolura (now El Arish), the nearest of the ports in the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf. This port soon became the seat of Indian commerce. "Merchandize was conveyed through Leuce-Come, a large mart in the territory of the Nabateans, and Petra, and thither and thence to other nations."[†] This was a shorter route than the one which Strabo states was afterwards pursued—namely, from India to Myus Hormus, and thence to Coptus (Kopt of the Thebais), situated on a canal of the Nile, and to Alexandria.[‡] From Rhinocolura the transport by water to Tyre was short and safe. Great were the advantages which the Phœnicians secured by this route, the earliest of any of which there remains any authentic account, and superior to any known anterior to the discoveries of the Portuguese.

Having thus summarily reviewed the fragmentary notices which from the perceptible dawn of commercial enterprise, have descended to modern times—exciting a curiosity which presents a wide field for ingenious speculation, but yields nothing very satisfactory in an historical point of view—we now approach a period upon which more rays of historical light fall, yet still immerged in great, if not in impervious, obscurity.

The Persians are the first people of whom it can be asserted, on testimony not entirely hypothetical, that they subjugated India. Of an early intercourse, it is observed by De Marles, abundant evidence is to be found in the language, traditions, and religious feelings of the two countries. Balk, the mother of cities, the Mecca of the Magians, the capital of Persia in her heroic days, and at a later period of a Greek kingdom, was indebted to this intercourse for its advantageous commercial position and its immense wealth. Bactria was the key of Central India, the connecting link between the East and the West. It was the great rendezvous on the high road from the Caspian gates, not only to the country of India, but to Sogdiana and Serica; and by this route a commercial intercourse was maintained between China and Europe. The produce of India was likewise transported on the backs of camels from the banks of the Indus to the Oxus, and down this river they were conveyed to the Caspian Sea, and then distributed, partly by land carriage, and partly by navigable rivers, through the different countries lying between the Caspian and the Euxine. The magnitude of this trade may be deduced from the fact that Seleucus Nicator intended to unite the two seas by a canal. This project was frustrated by the assassination of that prince.[*]

Herodotus informs us that a great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius Hystaspes, who, being desirous to know in what part the Indus discharged itself into the sea, dispatched vessels on a voyage of exploration, commanded by officers upon whose enterprise, intelligence, and veracity, he could rely, one of whom, Scylax of Caryanda, has transmitted his name to posterity. Setting forth from the city of Caspatyrus, and the country of the Pactyici,[†] they descended in an easterly direction to the sea; then, *steering to the westward*, they arrived, in the thirtieth month, at the port whence the King of Egypt had dispatched the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Lybia. After these had successfully completed their voyage, Darius resolved on the subjugation of the Indians.[‡] To this expedition he appears to have been led by the glowing description which Scylax gave of the luxuriant land he had reached, and its identity with the remote climes whose productions, mineral and vegetable, had been for centuries previously conveyed to and through the territories subject to his rule, and which had excited envy and cupidity. For its execution he was also well prepared. Though no descendant of the great Cyrus, he was a member of the same family,[§] and the third in succession to him. He was one of the seven Persian chiefs who conspired against Smerdis, the Magian usurper, and through his life displayed the boldness, ingenuity, and promptitude, with which he secured the throne. When Cyrus undertook his expedition against the Massagetæ, Darius, then twenty years of age, was left in Persia, of which his father was satrap. Herodotus states that, the night

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[*] *Ancient India.*

[†] Strabo, vol. iii. p. 211. Bohn's Edition.

[‡] Ibid.

[*] This passage is given in the *Asiatic Journal*, without acknowledgment, from Cerver's *India*, vol. i., p. 145, who probably has derived it by translation from De Marles.

[†] The modern Peh-keley.

[‡] Herodotus, b. IV., chap. xliv.

[§] Ibid. b. I., chap. ccix.

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after Cyrus had crossed the Araxes, he fancied in his sleep that he beheld himself with wings on his shoulders, one of which overshadowed Asia, the other Europe. The king looked upon this dream as a mysterious warning of a conspiracy against him and his crown; but the historian remarks, "the divinity foreshadowed to him that he would himself be killed in the ensuing campaign, and that his power would descend to Darius."[*] It was in his reign that those various and far-spreading nations, subdued by Cyrus and his son Cambyses, were consolidated,—so far, at least, as they ever were, for, in truth, those discordant elements were never brought into a state of cohesion. Asia, to the borders of Scythia and India, with the exception of Arabia, had bent to the yoke of his predecessors. Having fortified his position by the most powerful alliances, and divided his vast empire into twenty satrapies, a detailed account of which, and their revenues, is supplied by Herodotus,[†] his ambition led him to foreign conquests. The successive rulers of Western Asia had long viewed with jealousy the congregation of independent and enterprising states from which the Ægean separated them; interests nearer home had curbed those ambitious designs which they had upon them; and probably the monarchs of Persia calculated with confidence on the immediate submission of the Greeks, at any moment they were at leisure to make a hostile demonstration against them. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact, that the first armament dispatched against Greece was comparatively inconsiderable, compared with the resources of Persia, and the displays made by Darius in other quarters. The revolt of the Babylonians prevented the prosecution of a war against Greece, although it had been commenced by an attack on Samos. Babylon fell B.C. 508. Crossing the Thracian Bosphorus, he overran Scythia, to the delta of the Danube, and penetrated far into the interior of Russia. He subdued Thrace and Pæonia, and received the symbols of submission, earth and water, from Amyntas, the King of Macedonia. He sent his lieutenant Otanes to reduce the maritime cities on the north coast of the Ægean. The Hellespont and the Bosphorus, Byzantium, Chalcedon, and the Islands of Imbros and Hemnos, fell into his hands. The disastrous results of his war against Greece are too familiar for more than allusion, and nearly so his repression of the Egyptian revolt. The incorporation in his empire of the many countries which stretched south-east from the Caspian to the river Oxus, inspired him with the ambition of also attaching some, if not all, of the Indian territories. It is probable that this was the real motive which suggested the voyage of Scylax towards the upper part of the navigable course of the river Indus, and the sailing down its streamlet he should reach the ocean. The glowing description which it has been said that officer gave of its population, luxuriant productions, and high state of cultivation, fired his impatience. To troops tempered by so many campaigns, and always victorious on the eastern continent, the pacific dwellers beyond the Indus could offer but a feeble opposition; and though Dr. Robertson opines, "that his conquests in India seem not to have extended beyond the district watered by the Indus," such a view conflicts with the evidence of Herodotus.[*] "The population of India is by far the most numerous of all the nations we know. Their tribute (to Darius) amounted to more than that of any other nation;" or, as Larcher translates it, "they paid as many taxes as all the rest put together."[†] The description of the Persian satrapies has been subjected by modern writers to critical investigation, the result of which has been to verify the general authenticity, and consequently the industry and fidelity, of the historian. It is worthy of remark, as Major Rennel appropriately observes, that this tribute was paid in gold, whereas that of the other satrapies was paid in silver. Much light has been thrown on this circumstance, he adds, by the intelligence furnished by the Ayin Ackbaree—namely, that the eastern branches of the Indus, as well as some other streams that descend from the northern mountains, yield gold.[‡] Prideaux conjectures, that when Scylax returned by the Straits of Babelmandel and the Red Sea, he landed where Suez now stands. He dates the commencement of the voyage, B.C. 509, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Darius. It appears that the three succeeding years were devoted to the acquisition of India, as this interval is not accounted for by any other transactions of his reign. The short extract above quoted from Herodotus comprises all that survives of the history of this campaign. On his return from the East he renewed his designs upon Greece. From this incident may be dated the commencements of those collisions between the armies of Persia and Greece, the most brilliant episode in the annals of the latter, the provocation of an aggressive war with

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[*] Herodotus, b. i., chap. ccx.

[†] Ibid, b. iii., chap. xc, &c.

[*] Herodotus, b. iii., chap. xciv.

[†] "Ils payoient autant d'impôts que tous les autres ensemble."

[‡] *Memoir of a Map of Hindostan*, p. 25.

Persia, which eventuated, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, in the subjugation of the mighty empire founded by the great Cyrus, partially consolidated by Darius himself,—led the all-conquering hero of Macedon beyond the Indus, and first familiarised the rich domains of the famed Asiatic Peninsula to the nations of the Western continent. From this period onward the historian of India is released from much of the difficulties by which he was beset in his researches into more primitive times, and treads a path which, though overgrown by rank weeds, which vegetate most profusely on land once cultivated, yet preserves enough of its characteristics to conduct the traveller to his destination.

CHAPTER XX.

COMMERCE (*Continued*):—COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WESTERN NATIONS FROM THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH.

A recent writer on India has very properly remarked:—"All that Europe knew of India prior to the expedition of the Macedonian monarch was through its gold, its pearls, its spices, and its rich cloths. But the length of time occupied in the voyage, the circuitous route by which these goods were conveyed, and the many hands through which they passed, rendered it highly improbable that any but the most wild and fanciful pictures of the East ever reached those who consumed the products brought from those lands. It was reserved for Alexander the Great (B.C. 331) to achieve, amongst other things, the opening of this hidden region, although he himself visited but its confines on the west. Unlike the progress of those northern conquerors who came after him, carrying fire and sword and scattering death and ruin about their footsteps, the Macedonian carried with him the softening influence of civilization." Alexander, however, knew little of "the gorgeous East;" he paused on the threshold of the new world to which his conquering arms were carried. The Hyphasis was a rubicon which he did not pass, at all events in the pomp and power of war, but marched thence towards the southwest, between the Indus and the desert, leaving garrisons and forming alliances as he passed along. The adherents of the conqueror, who remained behind with his garrisons, studied the character of the country, and the manners and habits of the people, and Europe became better acquainted with the condition of India than would now be supposed possible at that period, had we not the writings of Ptolemy, Arrian, Aristobulus, and others, to attest it. The early Greek representations of India agree wonderfully with all we know of it, and with what our knowledge of its antiquities shows us must then have been its condition. In Robertson's *Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, and in Gillie's *History of the World*, the fullest notices extant of the conquest of India by Alexander, and the conduct of his successors in India, will be found. The authorities chiefly relied on are Strabo and Arrian, but they supply very imperfect information as to the commercial intercourse between the Indians and the Greeks.

The Bactrians, both before they acquired independence, and after the death of the great Macedonian afforded them that boon through the dismemberment of the empire, carried on commercial intercourse with India. Mill says:—"Among the kingdoms formed out of the vast empire of Alexander was Bactria. This district was part of the great range of country on the eastern side of Media and Persia, extending from the Lake Aral to the mouths of the Indus, which the power of the Persian monarchs had added to their extensive dominions." This statement Mill introduces to account for the extensive power wielded by the Bactrians, and their influence on the civilization of Hindoostan. Professor Wilson corrects the statements of Mill, by observing that the political power of Bactria after its independence may have extended over this space, but that the Bactrian province of Persia lay entirely to the north of the Paropamisan Mountains, and had Sogdiana and the Scythians between it and the Aral Lake. Much additional light has been thrown upon the history of Bactria and the adjacent provinces of the Affghan country, by the recent discovery of large quantities of coins, bearing the effigies and names of Greek and barbaric kings. They have been found in the tract between Balk and the Punjaub, and especially about Peshawur and Cabul, which were, no doubt, included in the dominions of the princes of Bactria, or of those principalities which were established in the direction of India by the Greeks. As most of these coins bear on one face an inscription which has been ascertained to be in a form of Prakrit, a derivative from Sanscrit, they prove that the Bactrians must have been an Indian people.* The commerce carried on by this people was by no means in proportion to the extensive power which, after the death of the Macedonian emperor, they acquired.

The early death of Alexander prevented his maturing any plan for either founding an Indian empire or establishing an Indian commerce; and the Bactrian empire which arose, while itself profiting, did not extend the intercourse of East and West. For three hundred years the trade with India was conducted by the Egyptians and Arabs by way of the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean, through the ports of Berenice, Coptos, and Alexandria. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who had been a prominent commander in the Indian expedition of Alexander, having obtained Egypt in the division of the Macedonian empire which followed the conqueror's decease, naturally turned his attention to the scenes of his former exploits, and contributed to the commercial enterprise which then marked the proceedings of the Egyptians and Arabs. Egypt became the grand path of oriental commerce. There were, however, two other routes by which a small portion of the traffic with the East was carried on. One of these lay through Persia and the upper part of Arabia to the Syrian cities, a desert and difficult route, but one of great antiquity. The only halting-place on this dreary road was the famed city of Tadmor, or Palmyra, so-called from the abundance of palm-trees which flourished around its walls. This regal city owed its prosperity to the commerce which passed through it, and which, in the course of time, raised the state to a degree of importance and power that exposed it to the jealousy of imperial Rome. A war ensued, in which its brave and noble-minded queen, Zenobia, was captured, her city destroyed, and with it the overland traffic of the desert, which had existed since the days of Abraham. The second route was by way of the Indus upwards, across the rocky passes of the Hindoo Cush, and so on to the river Oxus and the Caspian Sea, whence the merchandize was conveyed by other land and water conveyance to the cities of the north and north-west. Even in the present day we find this a route of some importance, serving as the means of carrying on a trade between India, Persia, and Russia, which is of more real value to the latter country than is perhaps generally known in Europe. The richest silks, the finest muslins, the most costly shawls, the rarest drugs and spices, are bought up by Russian dealers, and transported by this tedious route to the cities of the great czar. With the Palmyra route the carrying-trade of Egypt with the East suffered equally from the ravages and conquests of the Roman emperors, though not so permanently.*

During the reign of the Emperor Claudius some attention was paid to the advantages which might be derived from an Eastern commerce. This appears, however, to have been the result of Eastern more than of Western enterprise. An embassy was sent from Ceylon which was purely of a commercial character. The great empire of China was penetrated by the fame of the Roman name, and probably in consequence of the representations made by the Ceylon ambassador at a former period, a mission to the ruler of the celestial empire was sent from Rome in the reign of the Antonines.

When the decline of the Roman empire removed the vigorous surveillance held by its despots over their Eastern provinces, the trade between India and Europe, which had suffered much from Roman oppression, began to revive. The removal of the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople extended greatly the intercourse between East and West. The Byzantines were, however, rivalled by the Persians when the latter shook off the Parthian yoke.

The conquests of the enterprising Saracens gave an immense stimulus to Eastern commerce. They established commercial navies on the Persian Gulf; and the city of Bussorah, founded by the Caliph Omar, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, soon became a place of trade hardly inferior to Alexandria. The Egyptian trade through the Red Sea was at the same time revived; and the hardy Arabs, not contented with following in the track of their predecessors, pushed forward their discoveries until they had accurately explored the greater part of the coast-line of South-eastern Asia. It is all but demonstrated that they obtained a knowledge of the mariner's compass from the Chinese, and that through them this vast improvement in the art of navigation was made known to Europe. The Crusaders were non-trading enthusiasts; yet the capture of the two flourishing cities of Antioch and Tyre pointed out to them the pleasures of oriental luxury and the advantages of oriental commerce.[*]

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* See the descriptions and observations of Masson and Prinsep in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*; of Jacquet, in the *Journal Asiatique*; Raoul Rochette, in the *Journal des Savans*; also Richter, on the *Topes* (*die Stupe*), and Lassen, *Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskytischen Könige in Bactrien, Kabul, und Indien.*

* *A History of the Rise and Progress of the British Indian Possessions.*

The decline of the Saracenic power gave scope to the rising commonwealths of Italy. The Genoese and Venetians prosecuted trade with Central Asia by way of the Mediterranean and Black Sea, and the subjects of those states maintained with Persia an important oriental commerce. These nations were not, however, able to effect any direct trade with India.

The rise of the Portuguese as a commercial nation opened up a new medium of commercial intercourse with India. Bartholomew Diaz, in 1486, rounded the southern point of Africa, which he named "the Cape of Storms." John II., King of Portugal, perceiving the bearing of the discovery of a passage round the great African promontory into the Indian Ocean, gave it the happy title of "the Cape of Good Hope." Manuel, the successor of John, followed up the discovery of Diaz, and sent out an exploring expedition in July, 1497. On the 22nd of May, 1498, the navigator who commanded this enterprise, Vasco da Gama, reached Calicut, on the coast of Malabar. He remained some time, and freighted his ship with the articles of Indian produce attainable on that coast, and adapted to European taste, or which, in the speculative enterprise of Da Gama, was supposed to be so. He escaped various perils with which his intercourse with the natives was beset,—more especially through the jealousy of the monarch, —and returned in safety to the Tagus.[†]

The hopes and fears of all Europe were roused by this brilliant discovery. It was at once seen that the Venetians, and their agents, the Mohammedans and Turks, must lose their lucrative monopoly of Indian commerce; and they entered into a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt to prevent the establishment of Portuguese settlements in the Eastern seas. Timber was supplied to him from the forests of Dalmatia to equip a fleet in the Red Sea, where twelve ships of war were soon built, and manned by a gallant body of Mamelukes, under the command of experienced officers. The Portuguese encountered their new enemies with undaunted courage; and after some conflicts they entirely ruined the Egyptian squadron, and remained masters of the Indian Ocean.

After the overthrow of the dynasty of the Mameluke sultans by the Turks, the Venetians easily induced the conquerors of Egypt to join them in a new league for the overthrow of the Portuguese power in India. But the Turks had not the skill and enterprise necessary for undertaking the perilous navigation of the Red Sea, and soon after, the power of Venice was irretrievably ruined by the fatal league of Cambray. The Indian trade was consequently transferred from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, and Lisbon for a time was in possession of that commerce which had been a source of wealth and glory to Venice.[*]

The Portuguese government conducted its plans for commanding a commerce with the East *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope with spirit and success. A fleet of thirteen sail, carrying a thousand soldiers, independent of the complement which served as marines, was dispatched under an officer named Pedro Alvarez de Cabral. On his arrival at Calicut, partly by the presence of this imposing force, and partly by his tact in negotiation, he made a treaty of commerce with the *zamorin* or *zamoree*, as the prince of the country stretching along the Malabar coast was then called, and the adventurous Portuguese became regularly installed as factors in Calicut. The mercantile settlers, resting on the treaty, felt secure; but the prince, instigated by the Moormen, laid a scheme for their destruction so furtively, and carried it out so completely, that a general massacre of the Portuguese merchants and their servants, was the result. Thus the character of the natives two centuries and a half ago was developed to Europeans as it was in 1857. The same faculty of secret combination, the same hatred to strangers, and the same expertness in secretively organizing murderous conspiracy against those who trusted them, was displayed.

Cabral was not a man to allow treachery and cruelty either to go unpunished or to defeat his projects. He attacked the Moormen fleet in the harbour of Calicut, burnt, sunk, or captured the ships, and laid the town itself in ruins. The result was that the perfidious chief sued for terms, and obtained them at the expense of far more important concessions than had been requested of him for purposes of commerce and peace.

Awed by the promptitude and energy of Cabral, the chiefs of the neighbouring territories sought amicable relations, and commercial treaties were formed highly beneficial to the Portuguese, who thus found means of obtaining from the interior its products in exchange for foreign goods, or the precious metals. Cabral returned home in triumph, his fleet freighted with Indian riches; and his fame soon spread, not only through the Iberian peninsula, but over all Western and Southern Europe. After the return of Cabral matters were not managed by the Portuguese with skill or fidelity, and the *zamoree* (*zamo-*

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[*] *Ancient and Modern India.*

[†] Camoens.

[*] Taylor and M'Kenna.

rin) of Calicut endeavoured to compel the native princes in his neighbourhood to break off their alliances with the intruders. These attempts issued in sanguinary struggles, in which, however, the native princes and their foreign ally were the victors.

The Portuguese monarch, stimulated by the accounts of Vasco da Gama, fitted out a new and more powerful fleet, adapted alike for commerce and for war. Albuquerque had the interests of Portugal now committed to him, and he proved himself capable of the high task. His difficulties were more numerous than those which obstructed his predecessors, and his commission was one which, whatever might have been his own opinion of it, ensured the ultimate defeat of Portuguese power and enterprise in the East. The nature of his onerous duties, and the way in which the designs of Portugal were encountered, are thus summed up by Dr. Taylor :—" The papal bull, by which all the East was bestowed on the Portuguese, began now to produce its injurious effects. The Portuguese claimed, as matter of right, the submission of the native princes, while they were utterly unable to conceive how an old prelate residing in Rome, could acquire a claim to deprive them of the authority and independence which they had inherited from their ancestors. Almost every port now opposed the entrance of the Portuguese, and the cargo of almost every ship they loaded was purchased with blood. It was at this time that Albuquerque was placed at the head of the Portuguese in India, and entered on the career of victory which has immortalized his name. One of his first visits was to the Island of Ormuz, an island barren by nature, but which commerce soon raised to a temporary celebrity, such as has rarely been rivalled. The king of the island prepared for defence, and assembled an army, said to exceed thirty thousand men ; yet these were totally defeated, by the discipline and skill of less than five hundred Europeans ; and the king of Ormuz submitted to vassalage. The foundation of the Portuguese empire in the East may be said to date from the occupation of Goa by Albuquerque. He fortified it in the best manner, so as to render it impregnable against any attacks of the Hindoos or Mohammedans ; and having thus discovered the great advantage to be derived from the occupation of cities and harbours, he began to direct his whole course of policy to territorial acquisitions. One of his first conquests was Malacca. He afterwards attempted to storm Aden, but was repulsed. From Malacca to the Island of Ormuz the coast-line of India was studded with forts and commercial marts, occupied by Portuguese garrisons, or dependant on their power. The financial talents of the governor were even greater than his military prowess ; he raised the revenue by lowering the rate of duties, trade naturally flowing towards those places where it was least exposed to taxation and vexatious interference. After a brilliant regency of five years, he died at the entrance of the harbour of Goa, on his return from the Island of Ormuz, which he had rescued from the dangers to which it was exposed by a sudden attack of the Persians." During the administration of Albuquerque, ships were dispatched from the settlements on the Indian coasts to China, and a trade was opened up with that country. The Indo-Portuguese derived from this indomitable and wise man, not only lessons of war and administration, but principles of commerce and political economy, which unhappily they did not long retain, and which the parent country never espoused.

The object in this chapter is not to mark the political or social influence of the Portuguese upon their Indian possessions, but to trace the history of European commerce with these realms; it is therefore unnecessary to point out the ebb and flow of the power of Portugal along the coasts of India, and in their neighbouring settlements. Whatever was corrupt and unprincipled in the government of the eastern princes was adopted by the new comers, and other forms of oppression and exaction were introduced. The seas were scoured by pirates : Arabs, Moormen, Malays, Indians, and other races, plundered by sea and shore, and among the boldest and bloodiest of these buccaneers were Portuguese, men who had been sent out in the service of their sovereign, but who, yielding to the avarice and unpatriotic selfishness which so generally characterized their commercial fellow countrymen, forsook the honourable posts assigned to them, and became the most desperate sea robbers. The return of Vasco da Gama for a short time to the government of Portuguese-India, and the influence of men who endeavoured to follow in the footsteps of him and of Albuquerque, redeemed, *pro tempore*, the honour of Portugal, and prevented her interests from utterly perishing in the faithlessness and folly of her sons ; but in spite of the good examples thus occasionally set them, and the same commercial policy in which they had at the beginning of their Indian enterprise been instructed, they sacrificed empire and honour to bigotry, oppression, and pelf. Vessels sent out for commercial purposes by the government were armed for war by the governors of the different settlements, who struggled with one another for supremacy, amidst fierce and sanguinary conflicts, and the sacrifice of national property. An intense eagerness for proselytism was strangely mingled with this piratical spirit. Strenuous efforts were made to convert the natives, many of which were honourable to those who made them, but generally they were barbarous, and abhorrent to Christian feeling. The establishment of the Inquisition at Goa is one of the darkest passages in human story. Probably never, anywhere, had the ingenuity and pertinacity of cruelty been so united with forms of sanctity and professions of benevolence. Francis Xavier, by whom the inquisition was established at Goa, although he co-operated with the government, and promoted its authority by the religious influence he acquired, did much personally to check the corruption and tyranny of those to whom the administration of affairs was committed, and often, with a high hand, redressed the wrongs of the natives. Many of the atrocities at Goa, alleged to have been perpetrated with the connivance of Xavier, were inflicted in spite of his indignant remonstrances, and even his denunciations and menaces. Representations to the government at Lisbon were also made by him against the civil turpitude which so soon indicated the ultimate ruin of Portuguese interests in the East. The whole career of this people in their oriental exploits, with the noble exceptions referred to, exemplified the truth of the scripture principle, "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is the ruin of any people." The commerce of the Portuguese was literally destroyed by their religion. The horrible butcheries of the Inquisition of Goa infuriated the people of India, and rendered the name of the Portuguese infamous throughout the world. · A modern writer thus describes in brief the general effect produced, and the final catastrophe, so far as Portuguese commerce was concerned, to which it led:—"As evil has ever been known to work out good, so these persecutions and religious slaughters led in the end to favourable results. A cry for vengeance arose from the priestly shambles of the Inquisition. It went forth over that devoted land from shore to shore, and found an echo in many a heart,—sympathy in many a home. Insurrections, revolts, massacres, and burnings, were to be met with far and near. Armed with another papal bull, the Portuguese *Christians* deluged the country with blood; but in vain. Even the native converts joined the standard of the Hindoo and the Moslem, whose practice, if not their creed, was more merciful and tolerant than that of the civilized crusaders from the Western world. And now another people appeared on the bloody stage; a race of persevering, industrious merchants, who, by their cautious and humane policy, founded an empire in the East more durable, because more merciful, more kindly, than that of the intolerant Portuguese." The people here referred to as supplanting the Portuguese were the Dutch. The encomium passed upon them must be taken with abatement; their pursuit of gain was as godless as that of most other nations, but it is to their credit that they refrained from coercion as an instrument of conversion, except under certain tame and modified forms, which, although inconsistent with Christianity, are not so revolting to human nature as were the practices of the Portuguese. It may be doubted whether at any time during the successes of the Dutch they were as prosperous as the Portuguese were under some of their leaders, whose careers have been referred to. There was probably as much justice and success in the administrations of Vasco da Gama and his great successor, as ever marked European enterprise in India, whether commercial or military. The poet hardly allowed fancy to portray too fair a picture when he sung—

> "O'er Indus' banks, o'er Ganges' smiling vales,
> No more the hind his plunder'd field bewails;
> O'er every field, O Peace, thy blossoms glow,
> The golden blossoms of thy olive bough;
> Firm based on wisdom's laws great Castro crowns,
> And the wide East the Lusian empire owns."

The Dutch, however, inaugurated their first essay of Indian commerce well, and if not so gloriously as the Portuguese, yet the odium which the religious persecutions, fraud, and cruelty of the latter brought them, enabled the peaceful and cautious proceedings of the former to strike the minds of the natives of India in strong contrast. The writer last quoted, generally accurate and conscientious, thus presents the entrance of the new European adventurers upon the theatre of their commercial enterprise:—"The Dutch (A.D. 1509), having gathered some information respecting the trade and possessions of the Portuguese in India, and lured by the prospect of a share of those costly spoils, fitted out a fleet of merchantmen under the direction of an East India company, and dispatched it laden with goods and merchandize for barter, and well armed. The advent of this first armament from Holland was the dawn of salvation to India; and from that time may be dated the decline and ruin of the Indo-Portuguese empire. It was in vain that the governor of Goa, alarmed by the appearance of these formidable arrivals in the Eastern waters, endeavoured to excite the natives of

India against the Dutch. He soon found that so far from the new-comers being regarded with fear or jealousy, they were looked upon with favourable eyes by the princes who ruled upon the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, and that these people began to count upon the assistance of the Hollanders, as a foil to the oppressions of the Portuguese. Equally in vain was it to endeavour to repel the intruders by force of arms; they would gladly have found a pretext for a quarrel, but the wary policy of the Dutch disappointed them in this, and the latter were, moreover, too well armed to be easily taken by surprise." This statement as to the decline of the Portuguese is correct. The manners of the Dutch were so much more acceptable to the people, that the hatred of Portuguese rule was increased, if possible, beyond that which their atrocities had stimulated. Revolt everywhere, continental and insular, left them no hope; even the weak Ceylonese triumphed in expelling the detested invaders, the native converts and half-castes joining the people against the tyrants. An order from Madrid, where the government of Portugal was then chiefly conducted, directed that every public office in India should be sold, and the money sent home, thus destroying all hope of retrieving disasters, or regaining lost territory. Terrific storms wrecked their fleets—convoys and merchantmen being lost together. It seemed as if heaven fought against Portugal; her commerce, power, and renown perished.

The attempts of the Dutch to open up an Indian commerce were systematized, and the enterprises were well organized and well conducted. Although the English soon followed the Dutch, the latter were far more successful; for James I.—with that alacrity to betray their country, which the false-hearted Stuarts ever exhibited—was anxious to sacrifice this commerce to please Philip of Spain. The Dutch were free; they had defied and humbled Philip, and were prepared to pluck from his grasp the oriental diadem. They won the spice trade of Ceylon, and utterly broke up the profitable trade with China which the Portuguese had in their most flourishing period established. It is possible that the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal was the chief cause of the declension of Portuguese commerce; for when, in 1640, the Portuguese threw off the Spanish connection, there was a renewal of energy in the forts and factories which they had continued to hold in India, and so much of an improved spirit was indicated, that the prospects of Portuguese oriental commerce revived. The Dutch, however, had gained too firm a footing, and could only be supplanted by a far more powerful rival than Spain or Portugal, or both united, were ever likely to prove. The Portuguese still retain a few settlements,—Goa, Diu Timor, and Macao, at the mouth of the Canton river, but their trade is insignificant.

Previous to the reign of Elizabeth England received from the Venetians such Indian commodities as she consumed. Dr. Cooke Taylor, and other writers, represent this trade as unprofitable to England. But no nation will continue to carry on gainless commerce: the Venetians took such things in return as it suited England to export, and the commodities she received were worth to her the exchanges made in those transactions. Still it was a barter which did not call out the energy of so enterprising a people, and in no sensible manner tended to augment their wealth. In 1518 some of the leading merchants in London consulted as to the practicability of no longer dealing in the commodities of the East "at second hand," and proposed to the government of Elizabeth that negotiations should be opened with the Sultan of Turkey for certain trading privileges in the Levant. These negotiations were opened, and proved successful. From that time the English began a new trade, importing Indian articles by that way. A modern writer, quoting Hakluyt, states:—"There was a very considerable trade to the Levant in English bottoms, between the years 1512 and 1534. He tells us that several stout ships from London, Southampton, and Bristol had a constant trade to Candia, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Beyrout in Syria. Our imports were silks, camlets; rhubarb, malmsies, muscatels, and other wines; sweet oil, cotton goods, carpets, gall, cinnamon, and other spices. Our exports were fine and coarse kerseys, white western dogan, cloths called *statutes*, and others called *cardinal whites*, skins, and leather. From a cotemporary document it appears, that in this early day Manchester had already acquired some fame as a manufacturing town, particularly for the production of certain woollen cloths, which, singularly enough, were called *cottons*, a corruption of *coatings*."

From 1576 to the end of the sixteenth century various efforts to form a direct trading intercourse with India were made, and the enterprise of Cavendish at the close of the century, following the reports made by Stephens of his voyage to Goa round the Cape of Good Hope, stimulated the enterprise of the London merchants, and a society was formed, entitled "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East

Indies." * This society was constituted a body corporate by Elizabeth. "The first English fleet which was dispatched to India (A.D. 1601) consisted of five ships, under the command of Captain Lancaster. These anchored in the roads of Achen in June of the following year; and one of the first acts of the commodore was to form a commercial treaty with the prince of the country. Having bartered some of the merchandize for such articles as the place furnished, Lancaster made sail for Java, to complete the homeward lading with spices, gums, silks, saltpetre, &c.; and finally, after arranging another treaty with the King of Bantam, he returned home well freighted with a valuable cargo." This was followed by other successful voyages, especially in the year 1605. The jealousy of the Portuguese and Dutch was roused; the former made desperate efforts to destroy the English ships, but the company having sent out larger and stronger vessels, as the necessity of doing so became apparent, the Portuguese were defeated with terrible loss of ships and men. The Dutch were more wary, but not less hostile; and although that nation was much indebted to Elizabeth for her aid in its struggles against the power of Spain, it nevertheless united with the Indo-Portuguese to prevent the English from the pursuit of lawful and peaceable commerce. The alliance was fatal to the Dutch. Had they favoured their old allies, and only competed with them in a just and honourable rivalry, they might have long continued to share the profits of oriental trade in a degree worthy of their original enterprise. Holland adopted a dishonourable, selfish, and ungrateful policy, and met the fate such conduct merited.

In previous chapters of this History the government of the East India Company has been stated, and in chap. xiii. an historical sketch of the institution and progress of the company was given preliminary to such statement. In future chapters narrating the course of events in India, the development of the company's power will be traced. So mingled did the commercial and the political become, that they must be related together when events in India after the first enterprises of the English are detailed. When, ultimately, the Dutch were completely humiliated by Oliver Cromwell, England had no longer a rival in her eastern commerce, until the enterprise of France, and the skill of a few gifted Frenchmen, excited her apprehensions. The issue of the struggle with France was as triumphant as those with the Portuguese and Dutch, leaving England undisputed mistress of the commerce of the Indian seas, as well as the only European power occupying a formidable position from the Persian Gulf to Hong-Kong. The extent and character of the trade which now exists between Britain and her possessions in the East, will form the subject of separate chapters.

CHAPTER XXI.

COMMERCE (*Continued*):—MODE OF TRANSACTING BUSINESS IN INDIA—THE CURRENCY—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES—IMPORT OF SILVER—IMPORT AND EXPORT OF GENERAL MERCHANDIZE.

A considerable proportion of the capital employed in Indian commerce belongs to English merchants, representatives of whom reside at the chief cities in the presidencies, where they establish houses of business, purchase the commodities of India, and ship them to the British Isles, China, the East India Archipelago, and Australia; for these shipments British commodities or silver are taken in exchange. Certain natives are always employed by the European merchants or their representatives. These are called *banyans* in Bengal; the term signifies a merchant, trader, or commercial *employé*. The banyan acts as interpreter and agent, and generally manages the money dealings of his European employer with the natives. This description of official is very fond of assuming the title *dowan*, which is expressive of authority delegated to a confidential person, and is used by the native princes in transactions of palace regulation, of state, and of policy. The banyans are always Hindoos, and generally persons of property, influence, and commercial credit. These men have gained great influence over the English houses of business, and transact much of the monetary and commercial affairs of the presidencies. Their bonds of security are taken in government contracts, and they often control the fate of an embarrassed concern. Sometimes those men have been found convenient instruments by officials who had the power to bestow a contract, and which of course the individual holding the patronage dared not bestow upon himself. The banyan receives the contract ostensibly, but really for the official, who virtually confers it upon himself, the native agent accepting a per centage for his trouble and responsibility.

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* See chap. xiii. p. 286.

The bearing of the banyan towards his European employer was formerly, and to some extent is still, very independent, and sometimes arrogant. He entered the office slipshod, which is a tacit assertion of equality, and there conducted himself as if he were *major domo*, giving directions to his *sircars*, *hircarahs*, &c., classes of underlings by whom the great man was attended. Of late years these persons have become unfashionable, but their pecuniary resources are such that in large speculations, and when heavy advances to indigo and sugar-planters are necessary, their aid is indispensable.

In Madras similar persons are called *dubash*, a corruption of *divi bashi*, one who can speak two languages, referring to the freedom with which these men can speak and write English as well as their native tongue. The same is the case with the banyans of Bengal, and frequently even with the sircars and hircarahs by whom they are attended. When the services of all these classes are dispensed with, native clerks are employed, who can read and write English with accuracy and fluency.

The warehouses of the chief presidential cities are called *godowns*. In these, or in bonded warehouses, the produce imported to India is placed.

The *baboos*, *purvoes*, and other native commercial servants, are content to receive very small salaries, commonly ranging from £15 to £60 per year; but some have as much as £180 a year, and a few somewhat more.

Peons are attached to most offices to carry notes—or *chits*, as they are termed—to various places of business. This sort of service is rendered necessary by the severe heat, rendering active exertion on the part of Europeans often impossible, and generally difficult.

Bills of exchange, called *hoondees*, are used for remittance from one part of India to another. They are obtained from bankers, who abound in all the important cities.

Treasury notes are much used for remittance by the offices of government. These are bills issued by the civil authorities for cash paid to them.

Securities in government notes, bearing interest, similar to our exchequer bills, are much sought after by those who are desirous to make investments, whether Europeans or natives. These government promissory notes are useful as deposits for loans, in which way money can always be obtained cheaply by those desirous of retaining the stock, but requiring advances.

Bank-notes are issued by the banks in India, and obtain circulation to a moderate extent.

Monetary transactions between England and India are conducted mainly by bills of exchange, supported by bills of lading.

The coinage of India consists of *rupees*, *annas*, and *pice*. One rupee equals sixteen annas; one anna equals three pice. The rupee is a silver coin, about the size and value of a florin, and is divisible into *half-rupees* and *quarter-rupees*. The only gold coin existing in Bengal is the *mohur*, which is worth sixteen rupees, or thirty-two shillings British money. This coin is, however, seldom seen, as one class of natives export it when it comes into their possession, and others melt it down for the purpose of fabricating personal ornaments. In Madras the *star pagoda* was once circulated, but is now hardly known. On the coasts, and to some extent in the interior, among the poorest classes, *cowries* have currency. These are small shells; their value fluctuates so much, that copper coin is rapidly displacing them.

In the conversion of the rupee into the equivalent currency of other nations in drawing bills of exchange, the fluctuation of the relative value of the precious metals *inter se* is taken into consideration, from the circumstance of gold being in some, and silver in others, the legal medium of circulation. It is also necessary to take account for the mint charge for coining at each place, which adds a fictitious value to the local coin. The *par of exchange* is, for these reasons, a somewhat ambiguous term, requiring to be distinguished under two more definite denominations: first, the *intrinsic par*, which represents that case in which the pure metal contained in the parallel denominations of coins is equal; secondly, the *commercial par*, or that case in which the current value of the coinage at each place (after deducting the seignorage leviable for coinage) is equal, or, in other words, "two sums of money of different countries are *commercially* at par, while they can *purchase* an equal quantity of the same kind of pure metal." Thus, if silver be taken from India to England, it must be sold to a bullion merchant at the market price, the proprietor receiving payment in gold (or notes controvertible into it). The London mint is closed against the importer of silver, which metal has not, therefore, a minimum value in the English market, fixed by the mint price, although it has so in Calcutta, where it may always be converted into coin at a charge of two per cent. On the other hand, if a remittance in gold be made from India to England, its out-turn there is known and fixed. The new *Calcutta gold mohur* fluctuates as considerably in India as that of silver does in England, the natural tendency of commerce being to bring to an equilibrium the operations of exchange in the two metals. The exchange between England and India has, therefore, a twofold expression: for silver, the price of the *sicca rupee* in shillings and pence; for gold, the price of the sovereign in rupees.*

In the Straits settlements, and in the Island of Ceylon, the *Spanish dollar* is the coin which circulates most freely. It has been shown in the chapters describing these places that the merchants and settlers prefer this coin to the rupee, with which the government of India desire to supersede it. At Aden the *Austrian dollar* circulates.

The system of British India weights and measures is founded upon the principle of making the *maund*, or highest nominal weight, equal to one hundred English troy pounds, and thirty-five *seers* equal to seventy-two pounds avoirdupois, thus establishing a simple connection, void of fractions, between the two English metrical scales and that of India. The unit of the British *ponderary system* is called the *tola*. It weighs a hundred and eighty grains English troy weight. From it upwards are derived the heavy weights, viz., the *chittack*, the *seer*, and *maund*:—

	lbs.	oz.	dwts.	grs.
The maund is equal to	100	0	0	0
The seer "	2	6	0	0
The chittack "	1	17	12	0
The tola "			7	12†

The weights used by goldsmiths and jewellers are smaller—such as the *masha*, which is equivalent to fifteen grains; the *cuttee*, which is equal to 1·875; the *dhau*, which is but one-fourth of a grain.

The currency of India is a subject which of late years has undergone sharp discussion both in the presidencies and at home. It has engaged the serious attention of the board of directors, and has obtained perhaps an equally earnest consideration from financiers and political economists. The currency of a country is a subject as closely connected with government as with commerce, and might be discussed with equal propriety under either head; but the influence of Indian currency, regarded in all its conditions, upon the commerce of that country is so determinate and important, and is so rapidly being developed in new phases, that this chapter seems the most proper place for treating of it.

The legal tender in India is silver, and the amount in circulation is probably a hundred and forty millions sterling, although some writers estimate it as high as a hundred and sixty millions. The *company's rupee* consists of 11·12, or 165 grains of pure silver, and 1·12, or fifteen grains of alloy. Considerable hesitation seems to have pervaded the councils of the government of India in making silver the sole legal tender. Lord Cornwallis, at the time he established the *sicca rupee* for the currency of Bengal, also regulated the circulation of the *old gold mohur* as a legal tender for sixteen sicca rupees, "but that coin was always of a high agio, and never found place in the currency of the country." Prices were expressed in rupees. The land settlements by the Marquis of Cornwallis himself were regulated in rupees, and the public debt was contracted in the same coin. Since the time of Akbar gold coin has had a fluctuating value, and was bought and sold at an agio for presentations and offerings to great men, and for weddings and religious ceremonies, while silver was used as the basis of the circulation In the south of India the *gold pagoda* circulated until within the last thirty years. It seems to have been alike the desire of the government and people of India to withdraw the gold currency, and substitute silver. In a letter from the government of India to the court of directors, dated the 24th of June, 1835, the following decision is expressed:—"No gold coin will henceforward be a legal tender of payment in any of the territories of the East India Company; but the gold pieces to be hereafter coined will circulate at whatever rate of value relatively to the legal silver currency of the country they may bear to currency. The governor-general in council will from time to time fix the rate by proclamation in the *Calcutta Gazette* at which they shall be received and issued at the public treasuries, in lieu of the legal silver currency of British India. Until further orders, that rate will be as the names of the tokens denote —the *gold mohur* for fifteen rupees; the *five rupee piece* for five rupees; the *ten rupee piece* for ten rupees; the *thirty rupee piece* for thirty rupees."

It was soon seen by the Indian government that, as these gold coins were not a legal tender, their issue at a prescribed rate in relation to the coin which was a legal tender was inconsistent and impracticable, and accordingly, in 1841, by proclamation, the public functionaries were authorized to receive them at the previous rate of fifteen to one, "to be disposed of as might be ordered by the accountant-general, or the accountant of the presidency."

In 1844 it seems to have been the policy of the government to encourage the coinage of gold, for a reduction of seignorage from two to one per cent. was ordered on gold bullion coined in Madras and Bombay. This rate had existed in Bengal for seven years previous. The seignorage on silver coin remained at two per cent.

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* Captain Stocqueler.

† Ibid.

In 1850 the value of gold in relation to silver had so sensibly depreciated, and the prospect of a further relative depreciation appeared so certain, that the sub-treasurer at Calcutta made a report upon the subject. This condition of things continued to impress the government, and in 1852 notice was given that payment in gold would not be received in the public treasury; and that the act of 1835, instituting silver as the exclusive standard of value, would be enforced.

Objections are taken to silver as the standard. One of these rests on the desirableness, if not the necessity, of having the same legal tender as in the country whose supremacy gives law to India. Another is founded on the cumbrous nature of an exclusive silver currency creating extensive inconvenience to the government, which is obliged to hold larger balances than would, it is alleged, be necessary with a more available currency. It is an established rule in India to have a balance of eight millions, and it is generally half as much more. In 1855, when the public works loan was contracted, there was a balance held of eight millions, but the loan was resorted to because there was not enough in the Calcutta treasury for even an expenditure of two months. It is replied to this objection, and with reason, that the area of territory is so vast, and the means of transit so imperfect over a large portion of that area, that it would be difficult in emergencies to make either gold or silver available to a large amount at any given place. The troops being quartered in garrisons so numerous and remote, and the various centres of government being so widespread, it is necessary that treasuries be maintained in numerous places far away from the seat of the supreme government. An experienced public officer, well known in India and in England, thus expressed himself on this subject:—"Although I entirely agree in the opinion that under the present system a cash balance of upwards of eight crores has been proved to be insufficient, I am still of opinion that under a different system that amount would be an ample working capital wherewith to administer the government in ordinary times. Eight or nine millions of money, of which not a farthing is available wherewith to answer an unexpected demand, seems to me an enormous sum to be required merely as it were to oil the financial machinery. I cannot but think that too large an aggregate sum is allowed to be frittered away among too many small treasuries. There is really only one place where it is of importance to have always a large spare balance, and that is the general treasury of Calcutta. Of four-fifths of the district treasuries any one may be run dry any day without any public inconvenience; nevertheless, the greater part of the eight or nine millions is always lying in these small treasuries. It would require much time, detailed knowledge, and thought, to make an effectual and safe alteration of this system in this respect, but I cannot believe that it is not to be done." *

The impossibility of rapidly concentrating specie, from the great bulk and weight of money in silver, constrains the employment of a large number of the military in conducting and guarding treasure. The testimony of Sir Charles Napier as to the injury thus sustained to the public service is important:—"Treasure ought to be guarded by the *birkendauses* and *chupprassees*, but regular troops are employed by regiments, wings, detachments, and their marches are usually in the hottest season of the year and to great distances. Sometimes they are two or three months under European officers, often young, inexperienced, and unable, from the heat, to exert themselves. The duty is, therefore, done according to their bodily strength, the general relaxation of discipline in the army, and particular state of it in each regiment, and always such fatigue is incurred in guarding treasure in the hot season as to oppress natives as well as Europeans, officers and sepoys. These treasure guards resemble the Cape patrols against Caffres as to fatigue; but the patrols are made in the finest climate in the world, whereas the Indian treasure guards march in floods of heat, and exposed to deadly fevers. The patrol soldiers are cheered by a glory which their devotion, courage, and endurance merit. The poor treasure guard sepoy has no glory, no moral support under suffering; he falls under fatigue, the sun, and fever, unheeded, unheard of, a victim to duties not military. Between the 1st of January and the 31st of October of the following year 25,716 infantry and 3364 cavalry—total, 29,080 soldiers—were furnished for treasure escorts alone, exclusive of all other civil duties. Moreover, on nine occasions detachments, in two instances of whole regiments, are not included, because, from accidents, their numbers are not in my possession. Even this falls short of the truth.

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* Minute of Mr. J. P. Grant on the Public Works Loan, Parliamentary Paper 280, Session 1855.

During part of that time the general relief of corps was going on, and treasure was frequently sent with relieving regiments not included above. From twenty to thirty thousand men are, therefore, annually employed on this one branch of civil duty, for long periods and to great distances. Such are the severe trials of the Bengal army, injurious to its discipline, heart-breaking to its best officers, who are devoted to the service." *

It is affirmed by the objectors to a silver currency that the inconvenience experienced by the government is shared by the commercial community, and is felt by the whole population of India. It is necessary for the merchants and bankers to employ a numerous class of persons to convey remittances. They carry about a thousand rupees (£100) each upon their persons, so that ten men are engaged in the service of remitting £1000! The same burden in sovereigns for each man would amount in value to £1600. The Thugs, Dacoits, and other robbers, are expert in lying in wait for treasure-bearers. In reply to these objections it is urged that there cannot be two legal tenders, one of gold and one of silver; and that so small are the payments made to the sepoys and among the people to one another, that a currency such as exists would alone be adapted to the wants of the country. It is also maintained that notwithstanding such inconveniences as may be supposed or proved to exist, the people and the government find the advantages of the actual currency more than a counterbalance. It is affirmed by the advocates of the rupee standard that even now, for the first time, if provision were to be made for the currency of such a country, the silver standard would be the better; but that having existed for so long a period, and thoroughly meeting the wishes and necessities of the people at large, any attempt to abolish the silver for a gold currency would be unnecessary and empirical.

A more important argument against making gold a legal tender, is founded on the fact that the public debt, and all public salaries and engagements, have been contracted for on the basis of a legal tender of silver. Gold is, in relation to silver, steadily sinking in value; the average yield of the silver mines of the world is about eight millions per year, and the supply, if not stationary, increases slowly, whereas the supply of gold has increased greatly. Silver is, therefore, more valuable now in relation to gold than when the public debt was incurred, and the engagements of the country, based on the silver standard, were formed. By the amount of this difference the property of the public and private creditor, and the covenanted servants of the government, would be confiscated. This argument has undoubtedly weighed both with the government of India, the directors, and British cabinets.

The alteration of the legal tender from silver to gold, while the tendency in their relative value continues to be what it is, would create a revolution of prices in India of a serious nature. Where gold is the standard, its increasing quantities have raised the relative value of all other commodities as well as of silver, but this change has not taken place in India, because the standard was not gold. On the contrary, the increased value of silver tends to lower prices, but the effect as yet is not appreciable to any great degree, because the influx of silver has been equal to the demand. If gold be made a legal tender, the result must be the same in India as in England—all other things being equal—an upward tendency in prices.

From these considerations it is obvious that if such a change be made in India at all, it must be wrought out with care, with a scrupulous regard to vested interests, and so as to disturb as little as possible the commerce and economy of the country.

Closely connected with the question of the existence of silver as the legal tender of India, is the subject of the importation of silver into that country. In the vulgar *parlance* of mercantile affairs the balance of trade is in favour of India. According to the principles of political economy there can, of course, be no balance of trade in favour of any country. The precious metals are commodities to be received or exported as other articles of commerce. India receives silver because she prefers that return for her exports, either from necessity or taste. If any other article becomes more valued, she will, as a matter of ordinary traffic, export her silver to obtain it, if she do not possess some other articles more in request by her customers, and which she prefers to part with. China receives silver for her tea from Europe, but she readily parts with it again for opium to India. Both nations follow, in their dealing, a common and determinate law, which must operate upon their relations with others, according to mutual necessities and means of supply. India is not rich in gold and silver, and in all ages she has placed a high value upon them. Accordingly, she has always been an importer to a large extent, so that Pliny called her "the sink of the precious metals." The eagerness of the natives of all these vast regions for gold and silver ornaments, and the few things, comparatively, which they require among the productions of other countries, will account for this continued importation. That it has now reached a vast magnitude, is evident from an examination of existing documents. Colonel Sykes, M.P., a distinguished member of the committee in Leadenhall Street, and formerly its chairman, has given very particular attention to the matter.* According to this authority, India imported in the eight years ending 30th of April, 1842, bullion to the amount of fifteen millions sterling. According to another authority,† the bullion imported during the seven years ending 30th of April, 1849, was sixteen millions. Colonel Sykes affirms that during the five years ending the 30th of April, 1854, the bullion imported reached the value of nineteen millions. In 1855-6 she received from Great Britain and the Mediterranean ports alone £9,340,664, all of which, except £37,148, was in silver. In 1857 she received from the same places £226,750 in gold, and £13,246,684 in silver. Besides these immense imports in those latter years, she received also a considerable amount from China. The total export of silver to India and China in 1857, was twenty millions sterling, the demand of China being nearly equal to that of India. This large amount is more than double the produce of silver for that year from all the mines where it is obtained. The silver received in India has been chiefly in coin, yet this vast increase to the currency has not in any appreciable manner affected prices.

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* *Indian Misgovernment*, fourth edition, p. 233.

Independent of the natural operation of the laws of political economy already referred to, there have been social and political influences at work in India which caused the absorption of such vast sums. The love of ornaments—of the precious metals—has always operated in that direction, but more so in seasons of insecurity. There can be no doubt that a large portion of the people of India, as well as the whole Bengal army, expected for some years a revolt on a vast scale against British ascendancy. This led to an increase in the use of bracelets, anklets, earrings, necklaces, and waistbands of silver, as it was believed to be the safest mode in which treasure could be preserved.

The habit of secret hoarding grows upon a people whose lot is insecure, and remains long after the peculiar circumstances which led to it have passed away; this has been another source of the absorption of silver. The expectation so widely entertained of a coming convulsion, increased this habit during the last few years, and will partly account for the little influence upon prices, and upon the circulation which these large imports created.

The political causes which have operated have aided the social influences already in existence. As compared with that of native governments, the system of the East India Company occasions the necessity of a far more extended currency. Under the former the troops were to a certain extent paid in kind, and in a great degree supported on the lands of those to whom they owed a feudal service of arms. The company pays all its servants in cash. The creation of a public debt, the interest of which has to be paid in coin, creates another demand. The remission of several millions sterling per annum from India to the home government of necessity creates a demand for coin to meet the drain, although this tribute is paid in produce. The power of these governmental operations may be gathered from the chapters on revenue already before the reader, and from the following general glance:—The receipts of the home treasury of the East India Company from the 1st of January to the 30th of April, 1858, are estimated at £5,156,023, and the disbursements at £4,296,065, leaving a balance in favour of £859,958. The disbursements for the year ending the 30th of April, 1859, are estimated at £11,186,026, being—for Indian railways, £2,511,093; payments to government, £1,474,711; annuities, &c., payable in England, £1,403,480; stores and transport, 1,099,442; loan from the Bank of England, repayable on the 1st of October next, £1,000,000; minimum amount required to be held in cash, £1,000,000; dividends and interest, £980,000; bonds notified for discharge, £653,900; general charges, £595,800; amount repayable to security fund, £315,000; and bills of exchange and homeward, &c., £152,600. To meet these disbursements there will be available £2,500,000 from Indian railway companies, £120,000 from government for supplies, a like sum from bills of exchange on India, and the estimated balance in hand, amounting in all to £3,599,958, and leaving a deficiency of £7,586,068.*

Independent of the action of government in reference to cash payments, the funded debt, and the home tribute, there was another cause in the *modus operandi* in collecting the land revenue. This source of taxation, as shown on a former page, was transmitted from the native princes, but they very generally received payment in kind, whereas the

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* *The External Commerce of British India.* By Colonel Sykes, F.R.S. (Read before the Statistical Society, 21st of January, 1856, and reprinted from their Journal.)

† Tables of imports and exports for the three presidencies, in the Appendix to the Commons' Reports on Indian Affairs for 1852, p. 341.

* The *Times'* city article, January, 1858.

British insisted upon payment in cash. This was the secret of the sufferings of the ryots, although so lightly taxed. In the settlement of the Punjaub Sir Henry Lawrence found the desire for payments in kind one of the chief obstructions to the progress of his salutary measures. The motive was the same as actuated the ryots in India to urge the same request—viz., the fact of cash payments lowering prices. This was invariably the first effect produced by insisting upon the payment of the land revenue in rupees. The *Bombay Quarterly Review* places the subject in this light:—"An all-important step in Anglo-Indian administration was to collect the land-tax in money instead of realizing it in kind, according to the practice which had virtually, if not nominally, obtained to a great extent under native rule. The immediate and inevitable consequence of this general enforcement of money assessments was, that the amount of coin previously circulating, and sufficient for the adjustment of the limited transactions connected with revenue and commerce under the native system, proved quite inadequate for the settlement, without a derangement of prices, of the greatly enlarged transactions resulting from the British system. Under the native system the sale for cash of a small part of the agricultural produce of a district sufficed to provide for all its liabilities connected with taxation and commerce. Under the British system, on the contrary, twice, or perhaps three times, the quantity of produce had to be so sold in order to provide for the same objects, owing to the whole amount of the land-tax being demanded in coin. But the supply of coin remaining as before, the effect of this increased demand for it was of course to enhance its price. The coin in circulation had to perform double or treble the work it had accomplished before. The ryot, requiring more cash to pay his money assessment, had of course to bring more produce to market, which occasioned a glut, and brought down prices. And this state of things was aggravated by the demand for grain and forage in the country markets being less than before, owing to the disbanding of the irregular force which had been kept up by the native *jagheerdars* and other functionaries of the former government, and to the increased production due to an extension of cultivation by means of these disbanded levies. Prices fell more and more, until in many cases our collectors found it to be wholly impossible to collect the full land assessment, and large remissions had to be annually made. The village grain merchants, who are also the village bankers, deprived of a sufficient market at their own doors, were compelled, in order to find money to supply their constituents with, to seek more distant markets for the disposal of the produce left upon their hands in liquidation of advances previously made by them to the ryots. This awakened a spirit of greater enterprize and activity among the commercial classes, which was gradually communicated to the ryots, and laid the germ of that active foreign trade which now advances with gigantic strides, and has already penetrated into the remotest recesses of the interior. This collateral benefit conferred by the British plan of administration, has fairly set free the dormant energies of the people."

The influx of silver will raise the price of gold and of all other commodities in India, eventually necessitating the exportation of the surplus silver, unless the discovery of new mines elsewhere greatly increase the quantity. The efforts of France and the United States of America to displace their silver currency by gold, set free an amount of the former which sustained the large European exports to the East. Other countries, following the example of these nations, will set free a further amount of silver, which will inevitably flow in the same direction. But when the railways are completed in India, and the commerce of different parts of her territory with one another is developed, and of all India with other portions of the East, a natural reaction will gradually take place.

It has been remarked that the influx of silver to India came to a considerable extent through China, in consequence of the opium trade between India and that country. China, by her immense exportations of tea and silk, and her comparatively small imports of European and American productions, receives a large quantity of silver, and this must be taken into account in calculating the relation of the Indian demand to the supply of that metal. The general trade of China was stated in the chapter upon that country. It is here only necessary to show the present prospects of the grand staple of Chinese export, tea, which is chiefly exchanged for silver, to enable the reader to form some judgment upon the subject. On another page the opium export to China from India, which is chiefly given in return for silver, will furnish additional data for general conclusions. The following account of the character of the tea trade with China during the year 1857, from the trade circular of an eminent house in the city, furnishes the fullest and most recent information for the present purpose:—

"The course of the tea market during the past year has been checkered—the range of fluctuation fully 20 per cent.; while the result shows an average advance of about 10 per cent. upon most descriptions of black, and a fall of from 15 to 20 per cent. on some classes of green. It opened under considerable excitement, and large speculative business ensued at enhancing prices, stimulated by the news of the burning of the foreign factories at Canton, and the prospect of the partial stoppage of exports. Shortly after the whole trade was disarranged, and almost paralyzed, by the sudden proposition to put the duty at a higher point than had been previously fixed by law; and, although this matter was subsequently compromised at 1*s.* 5*d.* per pound, the previous tone of the market was not recovered, and considerable sales were made at a material decline. On the new duties coming into full operation, and the deliveries being found to be so much larger than was expected (the duty payments in one month having been on fifteen millions of pounds), all parties showed increased confidence, and this was greatly strengthened by the confirmation of the expected large falling off of the supplies for the season of 1856–7, proving ultimately to be no less than twenty-seven millions. A demand having simultaneously sprung up for export to the United States for both black and green, a large amount of business was done at an advance of from 1½*d.* to 2*d.* per pound.

"During the next four months the fluctuations were unimportant, but prices were on the whole well sustained, the departure of Lord Elgin from China to India aiding speculation. The highest general range was, however, now attained, for, although the account of the first crop of Kisows was confirmed, and most extravagant prices were being paid in China for the new teas, under the idea that this would be another year of short supply, and that prices must consequently advance at home, the report of continued shipments led to a decline here. In October came the American crisis, and eventually a fall of 1½*d.* to 2*d.* per pound on black, and 3*d.* to 4*d.* per pound on several sorts of green was submitted to. From this there was no recovery; and as the money pressure became more and more severe, so prices further gave way (although the principal importers held their stocks altogether off the market), as the necessities of parties (chiefly speculators) compelled them to realize. Subsequently a gradual restoration of confidence resulted. Meanwhile, general business was almost suspended; the tea trade suffered less than many others, but common congou gradually drooped until sales were made for cash at 11*d.*, and ordinary was unsaleable at 10*d.* per pound. There were, however, no sellers of sound on usual three months' terms under 1*s.* per pound. On receipt of the telegraphic news of the expected attack on Canton a slightly revived demand took place, and during the last two days of the year transactions were reported at 1*s.* 0½*d.* and 1*s.* 0¾*d.* per pound for common congou. The imports into the United Kingdom have been 61,000,000 lbs., against 87,741,000 lbs. in 1856. The deliveries for home consumption have been 69,000,000 lbs., against 63,000,000 lbs. in 1856. The deliveries for exportation have been 9,000,000 lbs. against 6,241,000 lb. in 1856. The stock remaining on the 31st of December was 71,000,000 lbs., against 88,000,000 lbs. in 1856.

"The imports have fallen off no less than 26,750,000 lbs. as compared with last year, being about 15,750,000 lbs. short of the average of the previous five years. The deliveries show a total surplus of 8,750,000 lbs. over last year, and about 9,500,000 lbs. beyond the average of the five previous years. Of the excess, 6,000,000 lbs. was in the quantity taken for home consumption, and 2,750,000 lbs. in the exports, chiefly to the United States. The present stock, although 17,000,000 lbs. less than at the end of 1856, is still nearly equal to eleven months' requirement at this year's rate of delivery, and 5,000,000 lbs. beyond the average of the preceding five years."

Imports by India and China of European goods increase, but they are small compared with the exports of eastern produce. China indeed is a large importer from India, but that circumstance is chiefly due to the passion for opium. England does not find such a market for her manufactures in the East, as her vast imports thence would justify her in expecting. From Great Britain and Ireland the exports to Australia are nearly as great as those to the East Indies. During the year 1857, they were—to Australia, £11,626,146; to the East Indies only £11,648,341. This state of things admits of explanation. A writer who paid attention especially to the condition of the presidency of Bombay says:—"Not only the principal towns and cities, but many of the larger description of villages are abundantly supplied with European manufactures of every sort, such as the natives require. They are provided with these by a race of men who purchase the commodities at Bombay, and retail them all over the Deccan. The articles generally consist of woollens, English chintzes, knives, scissors, razors, spectacles, looking-glasses, small prints, and different sorts of hardware: but the great mass of the people have not the means, if they had the inclination, to purchase any considerable quantity of European goods. Any surplus that remains after the immediate supply of their necessities is always expended in their festivals, marriages, and religious ceremonies." When it is alleged that not only the principal towns and cities, but also the villages, are abundantly supplied with European manufactures, it is not intended to say that any very great importation of such articles is made; but merely that the limited wants of the people are met, that there is no difficulty in the way of their obtaining such articles either from their inaccessibleness, or the want of means of conveyance to remote districts. It is admitted that the power of the natives to purchase is small, and that a taste for European articles is not yet formed among the masses, however it may partially exist among the natives of rank. Yet while the exports of India have been increasing out of all proportion to the imports, Mr. H. Green, the professor of literature at Poonah College, in his work on the Deccan ryots, represents the grand want of India to be increased export, and the chief source of impoverishment, the importation of foreign commodities. His words are :—"The great desiderata are—more varieties of industry, and, above all things, more eligible and more abundant exports. Under our rule an unheard-of portion of the revenue of the country is spent for foreign commodities. A governor, a member of council, a judge, or a collector, does not, as a native rajah or jagheerdar would, spend his income on crowds of retainers and hangers on of all kinds, creating a large demand for bajree, jowaree, ghee, and ghoor—he requires Long-Acre carriages, Arabian horses, French and Spanish wines, Parisian and London millinery, and a long list of foreign etceteras. The rich native also now imitates him in almost all these things, and even the comparatively poor one expends whatever revenue he may have, beyond what is just sufficient to supply him with necessaries, in English cloth and copper, and China silver and silk. This intense demand for foreign commodities renders it of vital importance that the exports which are to pay for them—and to provide also, if we are considering the case of all India, for the large tribute which in various shapes we exact, but of which the Deccan probably pays no portion whatever—should be such as are in their turn greatly in demand among foreigners, and contain considerable value in small bulk, so as to be easily and cheaply transported. Our rule will be light or heavy in India, almost in exact proportion to the facility or the difficulty which the country has in creating a demand abroad for its products. Let us suppose a native prince and nobility—such as Bajirao and the Mahratta sirdars—were to suddenly change their tastes and habits, to dismiss the swarms of Brahmins hanging about them, and the sowars, peons, ghorawallas, and troops of idle servants, to whose maintenance their revenues had hitherto been devoted, to keep but few horses, and these purchased from the Persian Gulf instead of from the valley of the Bheemthurry, and to spend, as we do, the revenues which supported all these dependents in every variety of foreign luxury. The first effect, evidently, must be great misery to the classes thus deprived of their accustomed means of living; the second, that the money no longer finding its way through these to the grain and other provision dealers, and through them to the producers, these latter will not have it to return to their rulers as revenue—there will be a general inability to pay the former rates for land, and every symptom of poverty and distress. In the meantime, the foreign luxuries in question being at first paid for in silver, the drain of this from the province will have produced falling prices. When these have fallen low enough to make it profitable to export the rude produce of the country, the drain will stop, and the foreign goods be henceforth paid for by these greatly deteriorated products."

That the improvement of India will keep pace with her importation of useful foreign commodities in exchange for her own productions is so obvious to all who are acquainted with the principles of political economy, that it is surprising to find men of note regarding her imports of the produce of other lands a disadvantage, and her exports for specie as her real profit. The lessons of a distinguished political economist might be studied by this class of the friends of Indian progress with advantage :—"The commerce of one country with another is, in fact, merely an extension of that division of labour by which so many benefits are conferred upon the human race. As the same country is rendered the richer by the trade of one province with another, so its labour becomes thus infinitely more divided and more productive than it could otherwise have been; and as the mutual supply to one another of all the accommodations which one province has and the other wants multiplies the accommodation of the whole, the country becomes thus, in a wonderful degree, more opulent and happy. The same beautiful train of consequences is observable in the world at large—that great empire of which the different kingdoms and tribes of men may be regarded as the provinces. In this magnificent empire, too, one province is favourable to the production of one species of accommodation, and another province to another. By their mutual intercourse they are enabled to sort and distribute their labour as most peculiarly suits the genius of each particular spot. The labour of the human race thus becomes much more productive, and every species of accommodation is afforded in much greater abundance. The same number of labourers whose efforts might have been expended in producing a very insignificant quantity of home-made luxuries may thus, in Great Britain, produce a quantity of articles for exportation, accommodated to the wants of other places, and peculiarly suited to the genius of Britain to furnish, which will purchase for her an accumulation of the luxuries of every quarter of the globe." *

The articles now chiefly imported by India are those which are rendered necessary or desirable by the presence of her conquerors; but the wealthy natives also consume many European products. The industrial population of India use little of the foreign articles which are set down upon her shores. The following account of her imports by Stocqueler gives too glowing a picture of what, nevertheless, is substantially true :—"The imports of India comprise every single product of Europe that can be calculated to improve the comfort or promote the luxury of man in a civilized state. The raw cotton received from her is returned, after it has passed through the looms of Manchester, Preston, and Paisley, in millions of yards. Hundreds of ships from England, the Clyde, from France, and the United States, visit her ports annually, laden with hardware and cutlery, with wines, ales, hams, cheeses, woollens, rich glass manufactures, books, bronze articles, steam-engines, printing-presses, varieties of iron and brass machines, paper, hats, carriages, horses, furniture—in short, every production of nature, every offspring of the handiwork of man, excepting such articles as are only adapted to the severest frosty regions, are carried to India. The carrying trade between Europe and India is conducted in vessels of all dimensions, from three to fifteen hundred tons. The steamers which ply round the Cape, and between the Red Sea and India, carry but a small amount of cargo." The aggregate value of this commerce, thus described with so much warmth, is, so far as exports from the British Isles are concerned, not much larger than that taken by some of our thinly peopled colonies inhabited by our own race.

The exports of India are indeed surprising in their variety, and vast in value. The writer last quoted thus describes them :—"It would be difficult in describing the produce of India, which constitutes her exports, to distinguish very minutely between what has been grown and manufactured within the vast continent, and what has been conveyed thither from the Malayan peninsula, the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, China, Persia, &c., for the purpose of being reshipped. An enumeration alone can be given of the articles which are brought to England and carried to other lands, leaving to persons interested in such inquiries to distinguish between the absolute offspring of the soil of India, and the goods of which her ports have temporarily become the emporia. According, then, to the returns to which access has been obtained, the grand exports from India consist of indigo, sugar, cotton, saltpetre, opium, silk, rice, pepper, betel-nuts, coffee, teak-timber, tobacco, drugs, dye-stuffs, sugar-candy, cocoa-nut oil, cochineal, coir, wax, ginger, cowries (shells), shawls, tamarinds, talc, chillies : all these are undoubtedly the produce of India proper. Of the following very many may be from India, but the most part are yielded by the islands and coasts in her vicinity, and the empire of China :—Tea, ivory, lac, gold and silver filagree-work, cornelians, ghee, grain, oils, putchock, seeds, soap, horses, sarda, cassia, turmeric, ambergris, colombo root, elephants' teeth, fish maws, sandal-wood, zedoary, coarse piece goods, nankeen, dried fruits, tortoise-shell, cinnamon, arrack, areka-nuts, wild honey, precious stones, copperas, pearls, carpets, dholl, flax, hemp, hides, horns, black salt, copper, tin, lead, wood-oil, earth-oil, dammer, silver, naptha, birds' nests, timber, rattans, gold-dust, camphor, gum benjamin, argus' feathers, kajiput oil, cloves, nutmegs, brimstone, birds of paradise, gum copal, civet, salt, rose-water, ottar of roses, sapan-wood, tutenague, shrimp caviar, cones, dragons' blood, borax, and a multitude of drugs and cotton piece goods of rude manufacture."

To state the exact quantities of all these different articles imported into Great Britain and Ireland would be scarcely possible or necessary. A return moved for by Mr. Gregson, M.P., shows that there were imported in 1856 from places within the limits of the East India Company's charter and other parts (among other articles)—542,330 lbs. of aloes, 4651 cwt. of borax (refined), 4505 cwt. of camphor (unrefined), 7,840,702 canes or rattans, 19,035 cwt. of cowries, 56,257 lbs. of cubebs, 9266 cwt. of elephants' teeth, 1288 of gum asafœtida, 70,870 cwt. of gum Arabic, 14,766 of gum shellac, and 10,975 of lac dye; 15,557 cwt. of gutta percha, 1,502,626 cwt. of raw hemp, 653,156 cwt. of raw hides, and

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* John Stuart Mill.

3,238,116 lbs. of tanned hides; 30,093 cwt. of castor oil, 192,424 lbs. of rhubarb, 32.694 quarters of rough rice, and 3,692,001 cwt. of rice (not rough or in husk); 8013 cwt. of safflower, 137,068 cwt. of sago, 387,639 cwt. of saltpetre, 1,180,180 quarters of flax and linseed, 264,920 quarters of rape-seed, and 426,183 lbs. of senna; 9,398,911 lbs. of raw silk, 601,461 pieces of corahs, choppas, bandanas, Tussore cloths, Romals, and taffeties, 34,460 lbs. of China crape shawls, scarfs, and handkerchiefs, 20,337 yards of China damask, and 18,622 pieces of Pongee handkerchiefs; 1,408,021 lbs. of cassia lignea, 119,270 lbs. of cassia buds, 781,231 lbs. of cinnamon, 1,502,315 lbs. of cloves, 14,035 cwt. of ginger, 18,112 lbs. of mace, 462,600 lbs. of nutmegs, 10,810,398 lbs. of pepper, 69,282 cwt. of block tin, 12,761 cwt. of unbleached beeswax, and 21,620 loads of teak-wood.

The year 1857, notwithstanding the war in China and the revolt in India, afforded many indications of the vast expansion our oriental commerce is destined to receive. Accounts moved for by Mr. Gregson, M.P., and published by command of the Honourable the House of Commons, show that the declared value of the British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom to the East India Company's territories and Ceylon in the year 1857 amounted to, in all, £13,080,662, against £11,807,439, £10,927,694, £10,025,969, and £8,185,695, in the preceding years 1856, 1855, 1854, and 1853. The exports of home produce to India last year included £208,288 worth of apparel, slops, and haberdashery; £337,504 of arms and ammunition; £267,733 of ale and beer; £591,183 of brass and copper goods; £171,519 of coals, &c.; £5,786,471 of cotton manufactures, and £1,147,379 of cotton yarn; for hardwares and cutlery, £218,878; for iron and steel, £1,736,440; £100,401 worth of linen manufactures and yarn; £558,954 of machinery and millwork; £160,837 of stationery; and £552,767 of woollen manufactures and yarn. Umbrellas and parasols, so necessary in an Indian climate, figure for £69,320 only, and silk goods for £10,374 only.

The articles imported into the United Kingdom from India and China in 1857, and actually entered for home consumption, included 35,965 lbs. of cinnamon, 166,981 lbs. of cloves, 24,740,162 lbs. of coffee, 31,178 quarters of wheat, 5300 cwt. of raw ginger, 162,440 lbs. of nutmegs, 3,200,956 lbs. of pepper, 1,356,410 cwt. of rice (not rough nor in husk), and 16,862 quarters of rough (husk) rice, 129,211 cwt. of sago, 90,136 pieces of bandanas, corahs, choppas, Tussore cloths, Romals, and taffeties, 4639 gallons of rum, 1,083,118 cwt. of unrefined sugar, and 859,543 lbs. of tea. A large quantity of wool was imported, but none of it appears to have been entered for home consumption, although free of duty. The value of the above exports from England to India is not given. To China last year were exported British produce and manufactured goods to the value of £2,450,307, against £2,216,123 in 1856, £1,277,944 in 1855, and £1,000,716 in 1854. More than one moiety, amounting to £1,573,828, was composed of cotton goods, while woollens figured for £285,852, cotton yarn for £158,081, and lead and shot for £92,623. The articles imported from China to this country in 1857, and entered for actual consumption in the United Kingdom, included 82,491 lbs. of ginger, 3514 pieces of bandanas and other silk handkerchiefs, 67,071,187 lbs. of tea (increased from 57,621,231 lbs. in 1853).

The number of British ships that entered inwards (India and China) in 1857 amounted, respectively, to 696 and 88, and the number of foreign vessels (India and China) to 72 and 14. At the same time 728 British and 289 foreign vessels cleared outwards (India), and 122 English and 79 foreign vessels (China).

Such of the readers of this work as reside in London, or resort to it, and desire to have a good general idea of the commerce of India, should visit the new museum at the East India House. There specimens of the natural productions and manufactures of India are arranged in a manner to afford instruction even to the mere casual observer; to the merchant, the statesman, the man of science, and the historian, the collection must afford important information and profound pleasure. This wonderful collection had its origin in the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851, when the East Indian collection arrested the attention of every visitor by its sumptuous riches and variety. The idea of a permanent collection arose from the deep interest which the public showed in the East Indian department of the Crystal Palace of 1851. The Indian compartment in that edifice was superintended by Dr. Forbes Royle, whose labours for the welfare of British India have been so persevering and intelligent, especially in reference to the cultivation of cotton and other fibres applicable to manufactures.

The first apartment in the new museum is "the model room," the collections in which illustrate the social and industrial life of India. Specimens of agricultural instruments, manufacturing tools and machinery, are suggestive of the way in which produce is cultivated and gathered to the markets for exchange. The model room is, however, more connected with the social life of India, presenting miniature law courts, dwellings, furniture, sepoy encampments, &c.; the other apartments are set apart for industrial objects. The first of these, which is presented to the visitor's notice, is leather; that of Madras, which is wholly manufactured by natives, is much inferior to the Bengal, where the workmen are superintended by Europeans.

Paper is another manufacture which draws attention by its variety, and the information imparted as to the material from which it is made, but not from its excellence. The gunny bags, made of jute fibre, in which rice and other commodities have been packed, are, when no longer of use for their original purposes, converted into paper by the natives, and the process displays some ingenuity. The plantain leaf and other vegetable fibres are also used for this purpose. European paper is in request for all purposes of importance, and this article is likely to become a valuable commodity.

Mat-work, basket-work, and other manufactures from fibrous materials, although they interest the visitor, are not regarded with that sense of their importance which they deserve. On another page the value of the fibrous plants of India will be examined, and the reader furnished with important information on this branch of Indian commerce.

The Indians have been long famous for metallurgy, and the museum does justice to their genius in this respect. Akin in some degree to that art is jewellery, for which, as shown in the chapter descriptive of Bengal, Benares has obtained a reputation "wide as the East." Either alone, or as mountings and settings for gems, the gold and silver-work of Benares, presented for inspection in the museum, is very beautiful, and will probably create a taste in the West for similar specimens of oriental art. There are innumerable specimens of Bengal jewellery, and some from other provinces, bangles, rings, bracelets, brooches, tassel knots for dresses, hookah mouthpieces, and many other objects of display or luxury. The Trichinopoly filigree-work is as light and elegant as that of Malta or Genoa. There are some rose-cut chains here which are perfect marvels of the goldsmith's art. So minute is the chasing of the pattern of the rose in each link, that, unaided by a magnifying power, the eye is unable to trace the delicate outline and beauty of form. There is a companion chain, also from Trichinopoly, in which the little links are drawn so close together as to be only visible on the closest inspection. It is difficult at first to believe that it is anything but a mere length of solid gold wire, and only when examined in the hand does its perfect flexibility betray its manner of construction. There are two waistbands, consisting one of eight and one of sixteen of these fairy-like chains, which appear as bunches of golden thread, and are fastened with gold clasps, set with emeralds and rubies. From various parts of the Bengal presidency some splendid examples of native jewelled-work have been obtained, rich with "barbaric pomp and gold." There is a superb necklace of gold set with pearls and emeralds, a gold bracelet, enamelled on the inner side, and the outer thickly set with pearls and diamonds; a necklace of emeralds, pearls, and rubies; a bracelet of three rows of large diamonds, about ninety in number, with a number of curiously-formed gold and silver spice-boxes. If, however, the visitor wishes to obtain a fair idea of the extent to which jewels are worn by oriental princes, he must examine the great Runjeet Singh's portrait, painted by a native artist. Runjeet is represented as sitting at his durbar. Round his neck is a string of 280 pearls, said to be, as a necklace of jewels of that kind, the largest and most valuable in the world. This magnificent ornament has recently been presented to her Majesty. His head-dress is a perfect mass of rubies and emeralds, while on his arms is represented a cluster of armlets of jewels of apparently immense size and value, one of the finest, a noble emerald, being spoilt by having a hole drilled through it in order to thread it on to the band over which it passes. A curious contrast to these magnificent samples of oriental jewellery is afforded by the display of the rude personal ornaments of the hill tribes of Thibet. Here are enormous silver chains of great weight, and such strength as to carry heavy arms and accoutrements; with native charm rings and rough-looking bracelets, fitted in style and form to be the massive ornaments of such half-savage tribes. Conspicuous among these ornaments is a broad band of scarlet cloth, dotted with curious rough greenish stones, which look like coarse discoloured pebbles. They are, however, turquoises of the largest size and purest water, and which, though uncut and unpolished, are still of considerable value. The gems are found amid the mountains of Thibet; but the hill tribes, though aware of their being of some value, are unacquainted with the method of polishing them, and so, in the rude way we have mentioned, adopt them in their natural state as personal ornaments. The massiveness of the solid silver armlets, of which many are sometimes worn at once by the Hindoo women, go far to explain the disappearance of such immense amounts of silver as have been imported into India and China.

References have been made, in the geographical descriptions given on former pages, to the taste and ingenuity of the natives of India and China in wood-carving and inlaying; the specimens in the museum will unfold the exquisite workmanship of the East in these departments, to many, otherwise, not likely to see it. Carving and inlaying of ivory and metals rank in the same category of works of skill, patience, and taste, and these are also so assorted in their proper compartments as to enable the beholder to examine them with minute and discriminative interest. Probably no carvings from India—not even the ivory-work of Bombay—surpass those in "pith." This substance is literally what its name expresses; it is taken from a certain plant, and is of a most delicate white colour. It is lighter than cork. The substance is useful for common purposes, such as the "pith caps" furnished to the European and native soldiery as a protection from the sun; while the oppressive weight of other coverings for the head, which would prove effectual against the sun, is avoided. In this pith the natives execute beautiful figures: temples, shrines, tombs, palaces, are admirably represented; as are also the different castes and callings of the native population. The stone and marble-work is, in some cases admirable, but far behind the execution of our own sculptors.

Bareilly, Scinde, the Punjaub, and Cashmere, have gained reputation for lacker-work, which is produced as an article of much-prized taste and commerce in these places, for the rest of India. The specimens in the industrial rooms at Leadenhall Street are exquisitely beautiful. The number of articles made from lac in India is almost unlimited, and they are adapted both to domestic and household purposes as well as to personal ornament. The lackered ware differs from the lac-work, inasmuch as it consists only of a thin coating of the gum being laid over a wooden surface, which is subsequently adorned with the artist's designs. The reputation of Lahore for the extreme beauty of its lackered ware stands foremost among all the cities of India. The lackered or japanned ware of China differs from that of India in being formed of a succession of coats of an extremely poisonous vegetable gum, which exudes from a plant spontaneously, and is as different in its mode of production as it is in its after method of ornamentation. How the delicate effects of colour of the Indian lackered-work are produced, or by what means it is that the combination of bright glowing colours is made to present the neutralized bloom which seems to cover the whole surface of each article, is a subject which has often engaged the attention of our artists with a view of applying the decorative principles of this ware to similar ornamental work in England. Some of these lackered coffers and caskets from Cashmere and Lahore are of rare beauty, a rose-water sprinkler from the latter city being especially interesting of its kind.

The Indian pottery resembles that of Egypt; some vessels in stone and metal are elegantly, and even classically, formed.

The Bidree-work, which consists in the inlaying of silver upon iron surfaces, is worthy close inspection. It is applied in the ornamentation of cups and vases.

The specimens of arms are curious. It is the custom of the native troopers serving the native princes in India to prepare their sharp swords from the worn-out swords of our dragoons. The steel scabbards of our men prevent their weapons from retaining the proper edge, but the scabbards of the natives tend rather to promote keenness. Long Rajpoot and short Goorkha weapons, and Santal spears, have a place in the exhibition. The old matchlock, and, what is remarkably strange, the *old revolver* musket, are to be seen side by side. Long before Colt or Adams thought of the revolving principle in firearms, it was used in the Deccan. Sir David Baird, sixty years ago, obtained, at Seringapatam, the specimen now displayed at the India-house. The frequenters of the old museum will remember the beautiful camel guns; in the new also there is a place provided for them.

In the department known as "the large room" manufacturers and political economists will find subjects of interest, and lovers of art will be no less gratified by taste in design. In the gallery of the large room raw products are set out—not only those usually imported, but such as have lately been introduced to public notice in India by men of science. On the basement of this great room the articles manufactured from these raw products are arranged. Woven work of rich variety and rare beauty is to be seen there. Muslins from Dacca, shawls from Cashmere, exquisitely delicate, tasteful alike in fabrication and design, meet the eye. The woven brocade and embroidery are beyond description elegant and attractive. The patterns on some of these works are European, but the native designs are in character with those of the remotest antiquity. M'Culloch, in his *Commercial Dictionary*, labours to prove that progress is as easy in India as in the West, and that the allegations of unchanging, or very slowly changing tastes and talents are without foundation. The quotations made by that author to establish a view which seems rather taken up from the affectation of originality than from a proof of its soundness, do not accomplish the purpose for which they are adduced. No writer has ever alleged that all oriental minds are cast, as it were, in a mould, and that there is no modification of the thought or feeling of an oriental community. But what is affirmed is obviously true—that the spirit of one age is in the main the spirit of another; and that however diversified the circumstances of a people, and the events of a nation in the East, their characteristics remain the same, and their habits and customs retain the ancient type, even when modified by the most startling revolutions and conquests: like the sea, which ebbs and flows, is calm and clear as the light it reflects, or is tossed and broken amidst the tumults and gloom of storms, yet it is still the great sea, fathomless alike in calm or conflict—yielding obedience to the same laws, performing in nature the same functions, and exhibiting evermore, amidst all varieties of action, the same characteristics. Many a tempest of war and passion have broken over the multitudes of the oriental world, many a season of profound agitation—such as hope, triumph, fear, or fanaticism can create—has shaken tribes, kingdoms, and empires, but, after all, they settle down again into the sameness of the past, as the waves of the ocean no longer beaten by the storm. If Mr. M'Culloch had seen the East India Company's exhibition of Indian art and manufacture, he would have found sufficient proof that, within the meaning really attached to such assertions, the orientalist of two thousand years ago was the type of the orientalist of to-day. The mental impression left on these textile fabrics, which are treasured as relics of the past, is the same as that which is now impressed upon the costly manufactures of Hindoostan, and of surrounding nations. This identity of style between the present and the past of the Eastern world is not incompatible with invention and improvement, but these are in a wonderful manner still made to express the same cast of thought, and the same idiosyncrasy of taste. The wings of brilliant beetles are, with extraordinary ingenuity, introduced into embroidered work; this has been a very old practice in China: the notices which have appeared in the press, of the peculiar effect of this combination as a novelty, are, therefore, erroneous.

In the room where the teas of the venerable merchants of the East India Company were periodically put up to auction, some of the more tasteful executions of Indian ingenuity are now exhibited; the room itself having been, by the skill of Mr. Digby Wyatt, transformed into an Indian temple. In proportion as the commerce and material progress of India are subjects of interest, the contents of those rooms will be objects of intelligent study. No books on Indian commerce, and no histories, can convey the vivid impressions, or afford the ample information on this class of subjects, which the inspection of these products of nature and art from our Eastern empire imparts.

CHAPTER XXII.

COMMERCE (*Continued*):—CHIEF ARTICLES OF INDIAN COMMERCE.

Having stated the general character of the commerce of British India, it is yet important to point attention to particular features of it as deserving especial notice; for amidst the great variety of Indian productions suitable to other realms, there are some of predominating importance. Several, which have not as yet become objects of general inquiry, are of such a character as to afford hope that their introduction to distant markets will tend to the advantage of the world, as well as the increased prosperity of the territory in which they are produced.

Among all the articles of Indian trade, none attracts more attention in England than that of cotton. In a former chapter* cotton was noticed as a production of India, and it was intimated that on a future page the subject would be more fully treated. The culture and the commerce are two different branches of the Indian cotton question. On the pages already referred to the former was noticed both as to its difficulties and advantages. In consequence of the superiority of the American grown cotton, efforts were put forth by the East India Company to introduce seeds from the United States, and cultivators from that country. This has been done for a series of years, and the result of those expe-

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* Chap. i. pp. 18, 19.

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riments has been a history of failures. In some places the climate was too moist, in others too dry; one class of experiments was made where the soil was too rich, another where the soil was too poor: and although in a few places—as at Surat, and on the Ava coast—success attended the attempts to cultivate the American quality, generally they did not succeed. Dr. Royle places the impediments which exist in the climatic conditions necessary for the American species in the following light:—"The great difficulty in applying irrigation to cotton in India is that you have to deal with a plant which has been raised in the rainy season, and which necessarily has all the habits of one accustomed to moisture both of soil and climate; and yet it is one of which you must check the luxuriant growth, if you wish to have a sufficient production of flowers and fruit. This is done naturally in most plants by the heat and dryness of summer, and in Egypt, where cotton is copiously irrigated, by the dryness of the climate. But in cultivating American cotton in India you have a moist weather plant—that is, one with short roots and broad leaves—exposed suddenly to dryness, when, from the clearness of the sky and the heat of the sun, there must necessarily be copious evaporation. The Indian species, which is a moisture-and-drought-enduring plant, withstands both the suddenness and the violence of the changes, but then it only produces a short-stapled woolly cotton." *

The Indian cotton plant (*Gossypium Indicum*, and *Gossypium herbaceum* of different botanists) grows over an extensive area of country. It thrives in hot and comparatively temperate regions, in moist soils and dry. The North American species (*Gossypium Barbadeuse*) flourishes in certain low latitudes of the United States and in the West Indies. It grows in India in various places as an exotic, but it is not suited to the climate of India, which that of no part of America, north or south, resembles. The climates of America bear, in various respects, striking similitude to those of China. In South America the species of cotton which flourishes indigenously (*Gossypium Peruvianum*) differs from that which is proper to North America, as well as that indigenous to India. In ancient Peruvian tombs cotton wool and cotton fabrics have been discovered, showing that the species which grows there is indigenous.

When the vast extent of country on the American continent yet to be brought under culture, and the enterprise of such a population as now inhabits it, are taken into account, there does not seem the slightest prospect of India being ever able to compete with that region in the growth of the peculiar species of cotton indigenous to the American soil. Good and clean cotton has, however, been brought to market from various places in India; and it is certain that the species natural to the Indian soil can be greatly improved, and may compete with much of that exported to Europe from America, because of the low price at which it can be sold. Although it is short in staple, and not easily spun by the machines used for American cotton, yet the natives have for ages made a fine thread from it, and wrought from that thread fabrics of great beauty. Its durability and strength of fibre surpass those of the American species. It is also noticed for taking delicate dyes more readily, and for swelling in the bleaching, so that fabrics made from it have a closer texture than those made from American cotton.

The vast importance to English manufacturers of a large importation of cotton from India may be at once understood by the diminishing supply of American cotton in proportion to the demand. The consumption of cotton in Great Britain for the past five years has not exhibited that steady increase which many have imagined who have been accustomed to look only at the extension of our export trade, as indicated by the tables. Thus, our consumption of cotton, which, in 1853, reached 654,274,000 lbs., rose in 1856 to 819,375,000 lbs., and fell again last year to 735,656,250 lbs.; so that our consumption of cotton in 1857 exceeds our consumption in 1853 only by 81,282,250 lbs., while it is less than that of 1856 by 83,718,750 lbs. But while this fluctuation is observable in the actual amount of cotton consumed, there has been, for the most part, a steady increase in the average cost of the raw material, which has risen from £18,365,000, in 1853, to £26,200,000 in 1856. The total value of production of thread, yarns, and manufactured goods, for the year 1853, is set down at £56,749,300, for 1856 at £61,484,000, and for 1857 at £56,212,909; or, deducting the cost of cotton, &c., the profits upon the manufacture may be taken—for 1853, at £38,384,300; for 1856, at £37,526,000; and for 1857, at £30,012,909. In other words, the increase in the cost price of cotton (the difference between 6*d.*, 6¼*d.*, and 8*d.* per lb.) has reduced the profits on the manufacture in Great Britain £858,300 in the year 1856, and and £8,371,391 in the year 1857, as compared with the year 1853.

Fears are naturally entertained of the

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* *Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India.* By J. Forbes Royle, M.D., F.R.S.

increase of prices in the English market, and, in case of war with the United States, of such a failure in the supply of the raw material as would ruin the manufacture. Under these circumstances, inquiry has been made by the government, the East India Company, and the merchants and manufacturers of Liverpool and Manchester as to the prospects of increasing the import from India. Egypt, it is true, supplies a certain quantity. The French settlers at Algiers are sanguine that the colony will become extensively cotton producing; and the famous African traveller, Dr. Livingstone, believes that there are various districts which he has explored suitable to the growth of the commodity, but as yet none of these sources can be relied on.

Concerning the efforts of the French, in April, 1858, the *Moniteur* published a report made to the emperor by Marshal Vaillant, on the subject of the cultivation of cotton in Algeria, in which he communicated the decision come to by the jury appointed to award the annual prize of 20,000 f. given by his majesty, from his privy purse, to the colonist who should make the greatest progress in that branch of agriculture. The report begins by stating that the season of 1857 was very unfavourable to the cotton grounds, from the abundant rains and the lateness of the spring. On several points the land prepared for sowing had been torn up by inundations, and in others the growing plants had been washed away. In addition to this, the humidity had caused fevers, and workmen became very scarce and costly. Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the extent of the cotton grounds which escaped those causes of destruction was not less than in the preceding year. The total superfices amounted to 1600 hectares (2½ acres each), divided as follows:—Province of Algiers, 175 hectares; of Constantine, 522 hectares; and of Oran, 903 hectares. From this it appears that the provinces of the east and west gained as much as had been lost in 1857 by that of Algiers, where the cultivation of tobacco more and more absorbs ground, capital, and manual labour. The report of the jury goes on to say, that the number of planters among the European colonists had not sensibly increased, but confidence in future success was unabated. Considerably more care was evinced by them in the selection of their ground for planting, and constant improvements were being made in the mode of cultivation, irrigation, &c. The number of native planters is stated, by the report, to be steadily increasing, and last year had reached to six hundred; but there still remains much to be done, in giving them instruction in the best mode of carrying on their agricultural operations in this branch. The jury report contains the following statement:—"There is every reason to anticipate a triumphant future in the cultivation of cotton in Algeria. Let the colonists persevere; let them adopt the use of instruments worked by animals, and every other means to diminish the cost of cultivation; let them continue to attend minutely to the selection of their seed, in order to preserve the purity of the quality, and the production will amply remunerate them for their trouble. The government, on its side, will pursue its task and continue its encouragements. Improvements and useful experiments will always be the object of its special care; and nothing will be neglected to make the cultivation of cotton enter into the habits of the people." The jury concludes by recommending that the emperor's prize of 20,000 f. with the gold medal, should be awarded to M. Colonna de Cinarca, for his cultivation of cotton at Habra, in the province of Oran, and that honourable mention should be made of other planters who had competed for the prize. It is obvious that the French emperor, alive to the importance of the latter manufacture to France, has resolved to test thoroughly the capabilities of his great African colony for the production of the staple. It would be a folly if the government of India, a country where, for three thousand years, the people excelled in the manufacture, should be indifferent, or tardy, or illiberal.

The grand impediment to the preparation of cotton in India for exportation to Europe, is the irregularity of the demand. The English manufacturers will not buy Indian cotton while they can get American at a price that will at all remunerate them; it depends, therefore, upon the supply from America whether the Indian exports sell remuneratively at Liverpool. Of the entire quantity of cotton imported into and manufactured in the United Kingdom, nearly four-fifths in quantity, and more than four-fifths in value, on an average of years, is obtained from the United States. During the five years 1851 to 1855 the proportion of the total quantity was seventy-eight per cent., and during the ten years preceding, from 1841 to 1851, it was eighty-one per cent. The American bales containing more cotton than those from other countries, the proportion may be taken at four-fifths of the whole imported. The supply from India has always been most irregular, being regulated by the price of American cotton far more than by its own quality. Whenever the supply from the United States promises to be deficient, or the demand for consumption rapidly increases, raising prices rapidly, Indian cotton arrives to supplement

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